

UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR

2471st

MEETING: 6 SEPTEMBER 1983

NEW YORK

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2471st MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 6 September 1983, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. Noel G. SINCLAIR (Guyana).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2471)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15947);
Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Observer for the Republic of Korea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15948);
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Letter dated 2 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15951)

The meeting was called to order at 12.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

- Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15947);
Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Observer for the Republic of Korea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15948);
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Letter dated 2 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15951)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2470th meeting, I invite the representative of Canada and the Observer for the Republic of Korea to take places at the Council table. I invite the representatives of Australia, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and New Zealand to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Pelletier (Canada) and Mr. Kin (Republic of Korea) took places at the Council table; Mr. Joseph (Australia), Mr. Jelonek (Federal Republic of Germany), Mr. Kuroda (Japan) and Mr. Harland (New Zealand) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bangladesh, Belgium, Italy, Liberia, Nigeria, the Philippines, Portugal, Sierra Leone, Spain and Sweden, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh), Miss Dever (Belgium), Mr. La Rocca (Italy), Mrs. Jones (Liberia), Mr. Fafowora (Nigeria), Mr. Moreno Salcedo (Philippines), Mr. Syder (Portugal), Mr. Koroma (Sierra Leone), Mr. de Piniés (Spain) and Mr. Amneus (Sweden) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/15954, containing a letter dated 2 September from the representative of Thailand addressed to the President of the Council, and S/15955, containing a note verbale dated 2 September from the Mission of Chile addressed to the Secretary-General.

4. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): Most of the world outside the Soviet Union has heard by now of the Korean Air Lines flight 007 carrying 269 persons between New York and Seoul, which strayed off course into Soviet airspace, was tracked by Soviet radar, was targeted by a Soviet SU-15, whose pilot coolly, and after careful consideration, fired two air-launched missiles which destroyed the Korean air liner and apparently its 269 passengers and crew.

5. This calculated attack on a civilian air liner, unarmed, undefended, as civilian air liners always are, has shocked the world. Only the Soviet people have still not heard about this attack on Korean Air Lines flight 007 and the death of the passengers because the Soviet Government has not acknowledged firing on the Korean air liner. Indeed, not until 5 September did Soviet officials acknowledge publicly that Korean Air Lines flight 007 had disappeared in its icy waters. The Soviet Government has not been silent about the plane, however. It has merely lied.

6. On 1 September, Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Gromyko, announced:

"An unidentified plane, coming from the direction of the Pacific Ocean entered the airspace of the Soviet Union over Kamchatka Peninsula, and for the second time violated the Soviet airspace over the Sakhalin Island. The plane did not have navigation lights, did not respond to queries and did not enter into contact with the radio control service. Fighters of the anti-aircraft defence, which were sent aloft towards the intruder plane, tried to give it assistance in directing it to the nearest air field, but the intruder plane did not react to the signals and warnings from the Soviet fighters and continued its flight in the direction of the Sea of Japan."

7. The next day, 2 September, TASS repeated Mr. Gromyko's charge that Soviet airspace had been rudely violated by "an unidentified plane" which, "in violation of international regulations . . . flew without navigation lights". TASS referred to efforts to establish contacts with the plane, "using generally accepted signals, and to take it to the nearest airfield in the territory of the Soviet Union". They also said:

"Over the Sakhalin Island, a Soviet aircraft fired warning shots with tracer shells along the flying route of the plane.

"Soon after this the intruder plane left the limits of Soviet airspace and continued its flight towards the Sea of Japan. For about 10 minutes, it was within the observation zone of radio location means, after which it could be observed no more". [2470th meeting, para. 48.]

8. Yesterday, when Soviet General Romanov finally admitted that the Korean plane had crashed, killing numerous people, he again asserted the jet liner was flying with its lights out. That is what TASS said. That is what Soviet officials said. But we do not have to wonder about what really happened, to the air liner or to its passengers,

or when it happened, or what Soviet officials knew about its fate. We know, because we know what the Soviet pilots, who intercepted the Korean air liner over the Sakhalin Island, said to their ground controllers during the 50-minute period from 1756 to 1848 hours on 31 August while they tracked, discussed and destroyed the Korean air liner and its passengers.

9. The United States Government, in co-operation with the Government of Japan, has decided to spread the evidence before the Council and the world. It is available on the video tape which will be played. On this tape you will hear the voices of pilots of Soviet interceptors, which included three SU-15 Flagons and one MiG-23 Flogger, including the SU-15 pilot who pulled the trigger which released the missiles that destroyed Korean Air Lines flight 007.

10. While it is obvious that the pilots are acknowledging instructions from ground controllers, those instructions are not audible. What we are about to play back for you is the intercepted tape of the actual air-to-ground reports. It is, of course, in Russian. On the monitor screens you will see simultaneously the original Russian and the English translation. Through your audio system you will listen to these voices in translation into all the working languages of the United Nations. Immediately following my presentation the Russian-to-English transcript will be made available to all who may wish to study it. After this meeting of the Security Council an audio cassette, on which voices are still clearer, will be provided to any interested Mission. Nothing was cut from this tape. The recording was made on a voice-actuated recorder and, therefore, it covers only those periods of time when conversation was heard. Let us now listen to the tape.

The following is a transcript of the tapes as played aloud and displayed in the Security Council chamber. The tapes and transcript were furnished by the United States delegation.

"VOICE: Soviet radar began tracking the Korean air liner at 1551 GMT. At 1635 GMT, the Soviets noted the 747 actually was flying over their land mass. At 1728 GMT, a Korean air liner was flying over the Sea of Okhotsk the same time a US reconnaissance flight RC-135 was landing at a base on the Aleutian Islands. The RC-135 had been flying a routine mission in support of the SALT compliance agreements¹ off the Kamchatka Peninsula. At 1826 GMT, a full hour after the US reconnaissance flight had landed, the Korean air liner was destroyed near the Soviet Sakhalin Island 1,200 miles away.

"The tape you are about to hear begins at 1756 GMT, one hour before the Korean air liner was shot down. The communication in from four Soviet fighter pilots talking to their ground controllers while tracking the Korean air liner."

*(interpretation from Russian)**

* Due to the poor sound quality of the tapes, which were unintelligible, this interpretation was made not from the tapes, but on the basis of the transcript furnished in Russian and English by the United States delegation.

"Course 100 in a climb to 8 (000 metres).
 "I didn't understand. What course? My course is 100.
 "I am executing.
 "Course 50.
 "(Answer)
 "On course 240.
 "I see it.
 "Roger. Understood. I'm flying behind.
 "Course 30 — 8,000 (metres).
 "Executing course 100.
 "Roger.
 "Distance to airfield?
 "Roger.
 "Altitude 4,900.
 "I'm executing.
 "I didn't understand.
 "I am executing.
 "Fuel remainder, three metric tons.
 "Roger. Repeat the course.
 "To the left, probably. Or to the right.
 "Carry out course 260.
 "On course 260.
 "Understood.
 "Course 220 — 7,500 (metres).
 "Roger.
 "Should I turn on the weapons system?
 "Understood.
 "163 needs to drop his wing tanks.
 "Yes, it has turned.
 "The target is 80 degrees to my left.
 "Executing (course) 240.
 "Course 240.
 "Roger.
 "Executing (course) 220.
 "Executing.
 "(Course) 245 (degrees) for 163? Executing.
 "Course 220.
 "I didn't understand.
 "Roger. (The target's strobe) light is blinking.
 "Course 245 — 7,500 (metres).
 "8,000 (metres).
 "Roger.
 "Course 280.

"4,500 (metres).
 "Course 280.
 "Executing.
 "Executing.
 "I see it visually and on radar.
 "Roger.
 "Executing 10 (degrees) left.
 "I have dropped my tanks.
 "I dropped them.
 "Executing.
 "I see it. I'm locked on to the target.
 "Roger.
 "The target isn't responding to IFF.
 "The target's course is 240 degrees.
 "(The weapons system) is turned on.
 "Roger. It's still on the same course for now.
 "Roger.
 "Roger. I have (enough) speed. I don't need to turn on my after-burner.
 "My fuel remainder is 2,700.
 "I've dropped my tanks: one at 4,000, one at 3,800.
 "Course 230.
 "the target's course is still the same — 240.
 "Executing.
 "I am in lock-on.
 "Course 240.
 "The target's course is 240.
 "Yes.
 "Repeat the azimuth.
 "1001 (Take control of me) from Karnaval. Azimuth 45, distance 60.
 "Roger.
 "Deputat sees me (on radar).
 "Deputat is inquiring: Do you see the target or not?
 "Do you see (it)?
 "Are you calling 805?
 Who's calling 805?
 "I see it.
 "Karnaval does not see (unspecified).
 "Repeat.
 "Executing.
 "The ANO (air navigational lights) are burning. The (strobe) light is flashing.
 "Roger. I'm at 7,500, course 230.

"I am closing on the target.
 "I have enough time.
 "Repeat.
 "Executing.
 "I am flying behind the target at a distance of 25. Do you see me?
 "(Call)
 "Fiddlesticks. I'm going, that is, my Z.O. (indicator) is lit. (The missile warheads are already locked on.)
 "Answering.
 "I answered.
 "I need to approach it (closer).
 "I'm turning lock-on off and I'm approaching the target.
 "(For) 163?
 "I have broken off lock-on.
 "(Right now) I can't see it.
 "Exactly. I have executed (unspecified).
 "Executing.
 "Yes, I'm approaching the target. I'm going in closer.
 "The target's (strobe) light is blinking. I have already approached the target to a distance of about two (kilometres).
 "The target is at 10,000 (metres).
 "I see both, distance 10 (and) 15 kilometres.
 "What are the instructions?
 "Roger.
 "The target is decreasing speed.
 "I am going round it. I'm already moving in front of the target.
 "I have increased speed.
 "No. It is decreasing speed.
 "It should have been earlier. How can I chase it? I'm already abeam of the target.
 "Now I have to fall back a bit from the target.
 "Repeat.
 "The target's altitude is 10,000 (metres).
 "From me it is located 70 degrees to the left.
 "I'm dropping back. Now I will try a rocket.
 "12 (kilometres) to the target. I see both.
 "I'm in a right turn on a course of 300.
 "Executing.
 "Roger. I am in lock-on.
 "I am turning to a course of 30.
 "Roger.

"I am closing on the target. I am in lock-on. Distance to target is 8 (kilometres).
 "I have already switched it on.
 "On a course of 30.
 "ZG. Missile warheads locked on.
 "I have executed the launch.
 "The target is destroyed.
 "I am breaking off attack.
 "What are (my) instructions?
 "(Call)
 "(The indicator/s for) my wing tanks lit up. The fuel remainder differs by 600 litres for now.
 "Fuel remainder 1,600.
 "I am executing. What is the distance to the airfield?
 "Roger."

The speaker continued:

11. The transcript that we have just heard needs little explanation. Quite simply, it establishes that the Soviets decided to shoot down a civilian air liner, shot it down, murdering the 269 persons on board, and lied about it. The transcript of the pilot's cockpit conversations illuminates several key points. The interceptor pilot who shot down Korean Air Lines flight 007 had the air liner in sight for over 20 minutes before firing his missiles. Contrary to what the Soviets have repeatedly stated, the interceptor pilot saw the air liner's navigation lights and reported that fact to the ground on three occasions. Contrary to Soviet statements, the pilot made no mention of firing any warning shots—only the firing of the missiles, which he said struck the target. Contrary to Soviet statements, there is no indication whatsoever that the interceptor pilot made any attempt either to communicate with the air liner or to signal it to land in accordance with accepted international practice. Indeed, the Soviet interceptor planes may be technically incapable of communicating by radio with civilian aircraft, presumably out of fear of Soviet pilot defections.

12. Perhaps the most shocking fact learned from the transcript is that at no point did the pilots raise the question of the identity of the target aircraft, nor at any time did the interceptor pilots refer to it as anything other than "the target". The only activity bearing on the identity of the aircraft was a statement by the pilot of the attacking interceptor that "The target isn't responding to IFF." That means that the aircraft did not respond to the electronic interrogation by which military aircraft identify friends or foes. But of course neither the Korean air liner nor any other civilian air liner could have responded to IFF, because commercial aircraft are not equipped to do so.

13. We know that the interceptor pilot who shot down Korean Air Lines flight 007 flew behind, alongside and in front of the air liner, coming at least as close as two

kilometres before dropping back behind the plane to fire his missiles. At a distance of two kilometres under the conditions prevailing at that time it was easily possible to identify a 747 passenger air liner. Either the Soviet pilot knew what he was firing at, or he did not know his target was a civilian passenger air liner. If the latter, then he fired his deadly missiles without knowing or caring what they would hit. Though he could easily have pulled up to within some number of metres of the air liner to assure its identity, he did not bother to do so. In either case, there was shocking disregard for human life and international norms.

14. In the days following the destruction of Korean Air Lines flight 007, Soviet leaders and the Soviet press have said repeatedly that they do not understand what all the fuss is about. They began by accusing the United States of creating a hullabaloo about nothing, and more recently they have accused us of a provocation, implying, though never quite saying, that we provoked them into shooting down an air liner that strayed into their space, provoked them into violating the internationally agreed upon standards and practices of behaviour. They have spoken as though a plane's straying off course is a crime punishable by death. They have suggested that "like any self-respecting State" they are doing no more than looking after their sovereignty, which they shall permit no one to violate. They have claimed, still without acknowledging that they shot down the Korean air liner, that "Our anti-aircraft defence has fulfilled its duty for the defence of the security of our motherland." They have suggested that they may have mistaken the Korean air liner for an American reconnaissance plane, but still do not admit that they attacked and destroyed it.

15. But none of these lies, half-lies and excuses can withstand examination. Straying off course is not recognized as a capital crime by civilized nations. No nation has the sovereign right to shoot down any person or vehicle that may stray across its border in peace time. It is interesting in this regard to refer to the statements made by the Soviet Government at the time that it was strenuously rejecting the complaint of the Government of Sweden of an encroachment into Swedish territorial waters. At that time the note addressed to the Government of Sweden by the Soviet Union said:

"What sober-minded person, to say nothing of military specialists, can suppose that a submarine in a surface run with running lights on and running diesels, the noise of which was heard over a large distance, in night time and in poor visibility conditions could engage in 'impermissible' activities?"

16. There are internationally agreed upon standards for intercepting unwelcome aircraft. Those internationally agreed upon standards call for serious efforts at identification, verification and warning and—if the case is serious—for intercepting the intruder and forcing it to land or to leave one's airspace. Sovereignty neither requires nor permits shooting down air liners in peacetime.

17. Recently the Soviets have implied that Korean Air Lines flight may have been mistaken for a United States aerial reconnaissance flight, but that is no more persuasive. The Boeing 747 was on a routine, scheduled flight. At the time it was shot down the United States reconnaissance plane referred to by the Soviets had been on the ground for more than one hour, more than 1,500 miles away. Moreover, the United States does not fly reconnaissance missions in Soviet airspace. We do regularly operate aircraft in international airspace to monitor Soviet compliance with SALT¹ and other arms control agreements. The Soviet Government knows what our usual flight patterns are and can readily identify these missions.

18. Finally, neither the United States nor any other country upset about the slaughter of the 269 passengers on Korean Air Lines flight 007 is creating a hullabaloo or exaggerating the importance of the event. We are protesting very important violations of the norms of civilized conduct on which international aviation rests and without which it will not be possible for any of us to board air liners and fly across continents and oceans without fear of becoming the object of a murderous attack.

19. To a degree we rarely consider, international air travel depends on networks of mutual trust that we will not shoot down one another's air liners, kidnap, jail or poison passengers and crews. Why did the Soviet Union violate these norms? Why have they lied about it? The reason most often advanced to explain why the Soviet pilot shot down the air liner is that it was a mistake, the mistake of a trigger-happy pilot who, with his ground controller, followed a philosophy of shoot now, identify later; but if pilot error was responsible for this tragic mistake, why has the Soviet Government not said so? Why has it lied? And why is it complementing its murderous attack on Korean Air Lines flight 007 with a lying attack on the United States for provocation and aggression?

20. As I considered this question, my mind returned to a debate that took place in the Security Council some 21 years ago, when my predecessor, Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, called the attention of the Council to the unmistakable evidence that a series of facilities for launching offensive nuclear missiles were being installed in the western hemisphere. The Soviet representative, Mr. Zorin, flatly denied those charges and, as Soviet representatives so often do, coupled his denial with a vicious attack on the United States. Calling our attention to threatening Soviet behaviour, Zorin asserted, only masked the United States own aggression and piracy. But Adlai Stevenson too had evidence to back up his charge, photographic evidence as irrefutable as the audio tapes we have heard today. The fact is that violence and lies are regular instruments of Soviet policy. Soviet officials regularly behave as though truth were only a function of force and will; as if the truth were only what they said it is; as if violence were an instrument of first resort in foreign affairs. They occupy Afghanistan and accuse the United States of interference in its internal affairs; they create massive new European vulnerabilities with their SS-20s and accuse the North Atlantic Treaty Organization of seeking to upset the balance of power.

the truth were only what they said it is; as if violence were an instrument of first resort in foreign affairs. They occupy Afghanistan and accuse the United States of interference in its internal affairs; they create massive new European vulnerabilities with their SS-20s and accuse the North Atlantic Treaty Organization of seeking to upset the balance of power.

21. We think otherwise. We believe that truth is vital to co-operation and peace among nations as among people. It is depressing to consider seriously our global prospects if those prospects must be built on relations devoid of truth, devoid of trust. It is depressing to consider a world in which a major nation, equipped with the most powerful modern weapons, believes it has a sovereign right to fire on a commercial air liner lost over its territory.

22. These Soviet actions and claims illuminate the Soviet conception of appropriate relations among nations in peace-time. They illuminate the world in which we live and work and make policy. Of course, some sophisticated observers believe that the destruction of flight 007 was neither the work of an isolated Strangelove unconcerned about human life—nor of that Strangelove and his ground controller—but was instead a deliberate stroke designed to intimidate: a brutal, decisive act meant to instil fear and hesitation in all who observed its ruthless violence, much as the destruction of an Afghan village or the imprisonment of the monitors of the Helsinki Final Act are intended to secure compliance through terror. Whichever the case—whether the destruction of flight 007 and its passengers reflects only utter indifference to human life or whether that destruction was designed to intimidate—we are dealing here not with pilot error, but with decisions and priorities characteristic of a system. Not only did Soviet officials shoot down a stray commercial air liner and lie about it, they have callously refused offers of international participation in search-and-rescue efforts, in spite of clearly stated international standards and recommended practices of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), which call on States to “grant any necessary permission for the entry of such aircraft, vessels, personnel or equipment into its territory and make necessary arrangements with a view to expediting such entry”.

23. We are reminded once again that the Soviet Union is a State based on the dual principles of callousness and mendacity dedicated to the rule of force. Here is how Lenin described the dictatorship of the proletariat in 1920. He said: “The scientific concept of dictatorship means nothing more than unrestricted power, absolutely unimpeded by law or regulations and resting directly on force”.

24. It is this principle of force, this mentality of force, that lies at the root of the Korean Air Lines tragedy. This is the reality revealed to the world by the tragedy. It is a reality we must all ponder as we consider threats to peace and human rights that face us today.

25. The United States deeply believes that immediate steps should be taken, here in the United Nations, to decrease the likelihood of any repetition of the tragedy of

flight 007. We ask our colleagues to join with us in the coming days in the effort to wrest from this tragedy new clarity about the character of our world and new, constructive efforts to render us all more secure, in the air and on the ground.

26. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation has already had occasion to express its view of the unworthy attempts of the American Administration to involve the Council in a provocative anti-Soviet spectacle. It should be perfectly obvious to one and all that the representatives of the United States are motivated not by any feelings of humanitarianism or concern about the security of civil aviation, but primarily by their own anti-Soviet instincts and their desire to step up their psychological warfare against the Soviet Union.

27. With a stubbornness that would really be worthy of a better cause, the United States has quite openly tried to make political capital out of the incident which occurred with the South Korean air liner by making unpardonable speculations about the human tragedy which took place, thus casting aspersions upon the Soviet Union and its peace-loving foreign policy. The United States is attempting to make use of this incident in order to give fresh impetus to the arms race.

28. A typical example was yesterday's televised statement by the United States President. The burden of that statement was an appeal for new military allocations, a further spiralling of the arms race. It even made direct reference to such specific types of weapons of mass destruction as MX missiles.

29. It is well known that American propaganda has no equal when it comes to the job of disinformation. However, through this curtain of propaganda new facts are daily emerging, and these facts do not fit in with Washington's original version of the incident involving the South Korean plane.

30. Today's statement by the representative of the United States is simply a further deliberate attempt to put the discussion on the wrong course. It is an attempt to avoid an answer to certain central questions.

31. It is an irrefutable fact—and indeed, it has not been denied by American representatives—that the intruder plane had been in Soviet airspace for some considerable time. It penetrated 500 kilometres inside Soviet territory. It ignored every attempt made by the Soviet ground services and air forces to identify it. It was unwilling to land at the nearest Soviet airfield. At the same time, as the Japanese Kyodo News Service indicated, that plane was in radio communication with Japanese ground-control services up to the very moment it disappeared.

32. The version that suggests that the plane's radio equipment was out of order and that its crew was unable to reply to the signals being sent to it obviously does not stand up under critical examination. This is borne out by the Soviet planes to establish contact with flight 007, a

communication was sent from that plane stating that the navigational equipment on the plane was working normally. The South Korean air liner was equipped with a triple system of autonomous navigational computers which gave the crew all possible data on the flight of the plane, including a tracing of the coastline. The possibility of a simultaneous failure of even two of those three computers is extremely small. That being the case, why did the plane stubbornly continue to fly inside Soviet airspace?

33. This fundamental question entails a whole concatenation of other questions involving a gross, lengthy and obviously pre-planned violation of the airspace of the Soviet Union. That raises the following very important question which requires clarification: Why did the United States authorities and Japan, whose ground services were directing the flights of planes on that route, knowing that that plane had been for some time in Soviet airspace, fail to take the necessary steps to put an end to that gross violation of the Soviet Union's sovereignty? Why did the ground services of the United States and Japan do nothing at all to warn the crew that the plane had violated the Soviet Union's air boundaries and, furthermore, in an area closed to overflights by foreign aircraft? Why did they not make an attempt to contact the Soviet authorities in this connection? Why was there such criminal casualness and such obvious readiness to risk human lives?

34. The American side originally tried to answer these questions by saying that the relevant United States services knew about the South Korean plane's change of course only from a subsequent analysis of data received from monitoring posts. That assertion, however, has also turned out to be invalid. As we have learnt from the American press the United States was closely following the actions of the intruder plane with the help of information satellites and other technological means.

35. The American Administration has very reluctantly admitted that there was an American RC-135 reconnaissance plane in the same area which was, at a certain stage, following a course exactly parallel to that of the South Korean aircraft and that, in at least one instance, it did intersect that course. This American reconnaissance plane, by the way, could indeed have been used to turn the South Korean Boeing 747 back to international airways in time, or at least to inform the Soviet side through the relevant American services as to the reason for its being within Soviet airspace. However, the appearance of that American reconnaissance plane close to the South Korean air liner suggests something else: it may in fact have been determining the co-ordinates and the nature of the activities of the radar stations of the Soviet air defence services, which had been set in motion to observe the behaviour of the South Korean air liner in Soviet airspace. In this connection, the following fact is also significant: American and Japanese authorities have avoided publicizing any recordings they have of conversations between the South Korean pilot and the ground services, although the South Korean plane was over the territory of the Soviet Union and in contact with those services for some time.

36. Something further should be said about the general circumstances in which this gross violation of Soviet airspace by the South Korean air liner occurred. Contrary to what has been suggested here by the representative of the United States, there have recently been deliberate violations of Soviet State borders by American planes. Such violations, committed with assumed impunity, have become more and more systematic: such violations occurred in 1982 on 22 February, 13 March and 4 and 7 May. There have been 12 similar violations so far this year—including one on 4 April by planes from the aircraft—carriers *Midway* and *Enterprise*. In those instances the Soviet Union made official protests. There was, however, no response from the United States. On the contrary, the activities of American reconnaissance planes near the air borders of the Soviet Union have increased.

37. On 31 August, on the eve of the South Korean plane's invasion of the airspace of the Soviet Union, and in that same area, seven flights by American reconnaissance planes of the RC-135 type were recorded. From 1745 to 2049 hours, Moscow time, in an area directly contiguous to the point at which the South Korean plane entered Soviet airspace and at a height of 8,000 metres, a reconnaissance plane of that type was observed carrying out manoeuvres. At the same time three United States warships appeared very close to Soviet waters.

38. On 31 August at 2000 hours, 800 kilometres north-east of the town of Petropavlovsky-on-Kamchatka, a Soviet radar station discovered an unknown plane with radar characteristics similar to those of the RC-135 that was on course towards the Kamchatka Peninsula also at the height of 8,000-9,000 metres. Subsequently the Soviet ground stations tried to establish communication with it regarding the violation. However, the aircraft did not reply and continued on the same course, going even deeper into the Soviet airspace. So as to identify the aircraft and give it assistance, air defence planes were launched to meet it. There was no reaction by the intruder to their commands. It continued on its flight with its navigation lights turned off, which was characteristic of flights by American reconnaissance planes. The intruder flew over the Kamchatka territory and in fact directly over the Soviet naval base and other military sites. When the intruder approached Sakhalin Island, another group of air defence planes was sent aloft to meet it which once again tried to establish contact with it and to conduct it to the nearest Soviet airport. However, the intruder not only continued on the same course without responding to the warning manoeuvre carried out by the Soviet planes, but also changed its course entering the airspace directly over the southern part of Sakhalin Island and flew over the Soviet naval base while at the same time altering its altitude. It was only thereafter that a warning shot was fired with tracers from the Soviet plane.

39. All these facts in aggregate suggest strongly that the course and nature of the flight carried out by the South Korean air liner was not fortuitous, but rather a scenario that had been prepared for this tragic event long before.

40. The actual state of affairs, which is apparent to all, despite efforts to distort it, clearly indicates who bears responsibility for the downing of the South Korean air liner and who sacrificed the lives of many people. Those people lost their lives not because of the Soviet Union, as is so loudly proclaimed in the West: they are additional victims of the cold war whose apologist and pursuer is the present United States Administration.

41. The Soviet delegation takes this opportunity to repeat that regret has been expressed in the ruling circles of the Soviet Union concerning the victims of this tragic event. At the same time, we vigorously condemn those who planned and executed this inhuman act of provocation and who now are not only trying to rid themselves of the guilt but are also using this occasion for unsavory political purposes.

42. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Japan, whom I invite to take a place at the Council chamber and to make his statement.

43. Mr. KURODA (Japan): My delegation made a statement on this item at the Council's meeting on 2 September [2470th meeting]. We are compelled, however, to make this urgent intervention in the light of the extremely regrettable attitude of the Soviet Union following the shooting down of a Korean aircraft.

44. As my delegation has already made clear at the meeting on 2 September, after thoroughly examining the available data the Government of Japan is convinced that Korean Air Lines flight 007 was shot down by a missile fired by a Soviet jet fighter off the shore of Sakhalin, near Kaiba Island, on 1 September. But despite our repeated demands, the Soviet Union has not admitted that the Korean Air Lines aircraft was shot down by a Soviet fighter and it has failed to offer a satisfactory explanation based on concrete data to the countries concerned, including Japan, of what actually took place. Moreover, the Soviet Union has not replied in a responsible manner to Japan's repeated request that it co-operate in search operations. This failure to respond constitutes a disregard of humanitarian principles and a violation of the Chicago Convention of International Civil Aviation.² Furthermore, the Soviet Union, through TASS, its official press agency, has been trying to shift its responsibility to other countries, including Japan, by distorting the facts and falsely denying that it bore any responsibility at all for the downing of the plane. In so doing, it totally disregards the feelings of the bereaved families of the passengers aboard the Korean aircraft and grossly offends the sentiments of the people of all the countries concerned. This Soviet attitude is utterly deplorable and should be strongly denounced.

45. Under these circumstances, the Japanese Government decided to make public the evidence it has obtained in order to prove to the world that the Korean aircraft was in fact shot down by a Soviet fighter plane. The Japanese Government has presented the evidence to the Council through the United States of America, which is a

member of the Council, so as to contribute to fair discussions of the matter in the Council.

46. The Japanese Self-Defence Forces recorded the uncoded communications between the Soviet fighter plane and its ground control station before and after it fired on the Korean aircraft in the early dawn of 1 September. That recording contains the communications transmitted by the pilot of the Soviet fighter plane which are at the crux of the incident. The transcription which the United States delegation presented a little while ago provided us with the communications extensively, so I will refer only to the crucial parts. The time is Japanese Standard Time.

"3.21 35' The target's (strobe) light is blinking. I have already approached the target to a distance of about two (kilometres).

"3.25 11' I am closing on the target. I am in lock-on. Distance to target is 8 (kilometres).

"3.25 16' I have already switched it on.

"3.26 20' I have executed the launch.

"3.26 21' The target is destroyed."

That piece of evidence demonstrates the truth beyond any doubt. There is only one truth. We once again demand that the Soviet Union candidly acknowledge the facts and deal with this incident in a forthright and responsible manner.

47. In a series of statements issued by TASS, the Soviet Union has made accusations against Japan, charging that although the Japanese air traffic control authorities were aware that the plane

"had been for some time in Soviet airspace, [*they had failed*] to take the necessary steps to put an end to that gross violation of the Soviet Union's sovereignty."

48. Furthermore, the Soviet Union would have the world believe that the Korean aircraft violated Soviet airspace for the purpose of conducting spying and reconnaissance activities. However, at the core of this incident is the fact that the Soviet Union shot down an unarmed and defenseless civilian aircraft carrying crew members and 269 passengers of many nationalities, including 28 Japanese. The various assertions made by the Soviet Union are entirely groundless and simply skirt this central issue. They are nothing but an attempt to conceal the essential nature of the incident. Its statements are unfriendly and detrimental to the efforts of the international community to determine the facts and bring about a settlement of this tragic incident.

49. The Soviet action is inhuman and outrageous. It contravenes international law and internationally accepted norms for the safety of international civil aviation, and has impaired the order regarding its safety. It must never be condoned and deserves our denunciation.

50. The evidence Japan provided today makes it clear that the five-point demand which the representative of the

Republic of Korea made to the Council on 2 September [ibid.] against the Soviet Union is a legitimate one. That legitimate demand will doubtless gain the support of the entire world.

51. The Government of Japan once again strongly denounces the unlawful and barbarous act of the Soviet Union. We call upon the Soviet Union to fulfil its obligations under international law and observe humanitarian principles by acting promptly and in good faith. This includes presenting to the countries concerned a full report of the facts.

52. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Philippines. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

53. Mr. MORENO SALCEDO (Philippines): Mr. President, I wish to thank you and, through you, the members of the Council for giving my delegation the opportunity to speak on the very grave issue before us. I would have spoken on 2 September had the structures of time not prevented me from doing so. Before proceeding, let me, first of all, felicitate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency. Your eminent qualifications ensure that the work of the Council will be in good hands.

54. May I also extend our appreciation to your predecessor, the representative of France, whose handling of the work of the Council during his term reflected his great diplomatic skills and leadership.

55. In the early hours of Thursday, 1 September, a civilian aircraft of the Korean Air Lines, with 240 passengers and 29 crew members on board, disappeared. It is now established that the aircraft had been flying in Soviet airspace. It is also established that a Soviet fighter plane fired in the direction of the ill-fated aircraft.

56. All the information presented to this body and to the world by different sources up to now indicates that the Korean plane went down from a missile fired by a Soviet military aircraft, thus sending to their deaths 269 hapless and innocent victims. We therefore voice our outrage, condemnation and protest over this wanton act.

57. My Government and people, like the rest of the international community, await a satisfactory explanation of the loss of so many innocent lives. Twenty-four of the unfortunate passengers on board the plane were Filipino citizens or persons of Filipino origin, including women and children, who were on their way to visit the land of their birth.

58. Apart from the resulting tragic loss of human lives, this incident brings into focus the nature of innocent passage of commercial aircraft throughout the world, and to what extent prohibitions or sanctions and penalties should be imposed on transgressions against national airspace. In this particular case, although the Korean commercial aircraft had entered Soviet airspace, the action taken against it was unjustifiably disproportionate to the act objected to.

What is more, it was exacted upon people who were innocent of any wrongdoing.

59. My Government, therefore, strongly urges that an immediate investigation of this incident be undertaken. Among other things, the inquiry should determine exactly what happened, pinpoint where the responsibility lies, demand an accounting from those responsible, as well as ensure appropriate and adequate redress for the families of the victims. Moreover, measures should be taken to ensure that similar acts of violence are prevented or avoided in the future.

60. We trust that this body, and the whole international community, will agree to conducting this inquiry, with the full co-operation of those directly concerned.

61. To the families of the victims we extend our sincere and profound condolences. My Government, for its part, is extending every possible assistance to the relatives of the Filipinos who perished under such tragic circumstances.

62. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Liberia, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

63. Mrs. JONES (Liberia): The delegation of Liberia, Sir, is pleased to see you presiding for the month of September. Your proven skills as a negotiator are a good augury, and we wish you success in your leadership of the Council during its present meetings. We also extend our appreciation to your predecessor for his leadership during the month of August.

64. At a time when the whole world, on the eve of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, was calmly looking forward to peaceful deliberations, our hopes were dashed by the baser instincts of man—by his instinct to disturb the peace.

65. The wilful, calculated shooting down of an unarmed civilian aircraft carrying 269 helpless, hapless passengers has aroused the concern and anger of all peace-loving peoples. The delegation of Liberia, accordingly, registers in this public manner the anger, concern and outrage of the Government and people of Liberia over the loss of the lives of those people. We also extend sympathy to the Korean people in their period of mourning and sadness.

66. This wanton, brutal act of killing helpless people has created a puzzle in the minds of millions. My delegation wishes to inquire and to demand an explanation as to how a nation can express its desire and yearning for peace and human understanding and at the same time shoot down an aircraft carrying helpless civilians.

67. As long as all nations, large and small, rich and poor, super-Power and lesser Power, share a common living space, we also share a responsibility to the world community regarding our actions and conduct. If we are truly and sincerely working for peace how can the Soviet

action be convincingly explained? Peace is not achieved by bullets or grandiose statements issued in the assemblies, congresses and presidiums of the world, but rather on the level of daily human interaction. The Soviet Union owes the entire world, and the Korean people in particular, a factual explanation of the incident, in the name of human decency and dignity.

68. The delegation of Liberia further calls for the payment of adequate compensation to the bereaved families by the Soviet Union. We request that an investigation, by, *inter alia*, officials of ICAO should be undertaken. In the name of justice and humanity the Soviet Union must be called upon to punish those responsible for the shooting down of a passenger aircraft, because that act cannot be condoned.

69. The delegation of Liberia further requests that the Council spare no effort in condemning it, because it is our view that it would be unreasonable to contend that the violation of a nation's airspace by a civilian aircraft with clear markings and identification justifies the use of such excessive force. It would have been far better had the Soviets forced the aircraft to land, as they did in the case of another Korean airliner in 1978.

70. The shooting down of the Korean plane is in gross violation of international civil aviation regulations. It is an act which seriously affects the operations of international air services and undermines the confidence of people in the safety of civil aviation. We ask, was the aircraft identified as a civilian or military aircraft before the shooting? What happens if weather conditions cause an aircraft to go off course—which is not an international violation of a country's airspace? Must it be shot from the air?

71. The tendency of super-Powers to over-react when provoked should be checked. If it is not, such behaviour foreshadows dire events. More and more, future trends will reveal helpless and powerless civilians becoming casualties in super-Power rivalry. The rules governing the space age and space-age technology leave much to be desired. Such a peace-time calamity is as grotesque as any war-time calamity.

72. There have been peace-time disasters in land, sea and air transport, but none has been so calculated and so wilfully carried out as the recent grotesque, sadistic act, which should not have occurred in these so-called modern times.

73. It is sad to think that such an act could have occurred as if extraterrestrial beings from Saturn or Jupiter had been visiting Earth in an unfamiliar, unrecognizable spacecraft. The shooting down of a civilian aircraft as if it were from outer space, from another planet, is indeed regrettable. It illustrates the clear danger of the stockpiling of deadly armaments: given a confused set of variables and options, there may soon be a temptation to put those armaments to practical use. These creatures of man are intended not to be looked upon and admired as objects of arts, but to be admired for the devastating attacks they

can inflict on mankind. Everyone who has flown in an aircraft—including everyone in this chamber—can identify with the fate of the helpless air passengers, who may not even have been aware that they were in any kind of danger, with no warning having been given, so swift is the act of modern warfare. We are left behind to agonize over their fate and to hold our breath, wondering whether this will happen again.

74. In the name of our common humanity, in the name of international law and order, we ask the Soviet Union to give the world the whole story, realizing as we do from their own Tolstoy's *War and Peace* that the worst thing is for good men to keep silent when a wrong has been done.

75. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Sweden. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

76. Mr. AMNEUS (Sweden): I should like to thank the members of the Security Council for giving Sweden this opportunity to address the Council on the matter of the destruction of a Korean Air Lines Boeing 747.

77. Although the exact circumstances surrounding the disappearance of the civilian Korean air liner remain to be determined, we must now assume that the aircraft was shot down by Soviet interceptors. If this assumption is correct, my Government, as a Member of the United Nations and with one of its citizens among the passengers, condemns this unlawful and callous act causing the death of 269 innocent people. We also wish to express our sincere condolences to the many families of different nationalities who have suffered a heavy loss through this tragedy.

78. This act constitutes a violation of fundamental rules of international law, a violation of accepted humanitarian principles and a violation of agreements concerning civil air transportation.

79. It is of great importance that principles of international law are respected in the field of civil aviation. The air traffic system is based on the presumption that all States will protect the lives of innocent air passengers. A civilian aircraft should, in times of peace, under no circumstances be subjected to action that might imperil its safety. This principle is valid also in cases where navigation faults may lead the aircraft into restricted areas. In cases of interception of civilian aircraft the respect for human life should take precedence over the protection of territory.

80. It is a well-known fact that the Soviet Union has severe rules of its own for the protection of the State boundary, enabling Soviet units to use force even against civilian aircraft. Such rules and instructions are not in accordance with generally accepted norms of international law relevant to civilian transportation.

81. All countries having air traffic to and from the Soviet Union have a right to demand that Soviet authorities do not use force against their aircraft in cases of navi-

gational faults. All civilian aircraft must be treated in a manner that eliminates risks to the safety of the aircraft and its passengers. Interception routines must be applied in such a strict way as to eliminate any risk for mistake with regard to the identity of intercepted aircraft.

82. It is vital that incidents of this nature do not occur in the future. It is essential that the Soviet Union provide all information necessary to enable the international community to investigate the incident. No nation has a right to withhold information relevant to a matter of this nature.

83. It has been clearly demonstrated during the preceding meeting [*ibid.*] that this fatal incident threatens to worsen an already tense international climate.

84. There is an obvious risk that the destruction of the Korean aircraft will entail a setback for recent attempts to relieve tension in the world. It is the fervent hope of my Government that this should not happen.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.

NOTES

¹ Interim Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on certain measures with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive arms (SALT-I) (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 944, No. 13445) and Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT-II) (see CD/53/Appendix III/Vol. I, document CD/28).

² United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 15, No. 102.

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UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL

OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR

2472nd

MEETING: 6 SEPTEMBER 1983

NEW YORK

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2472nd MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 6 September 1983, at 4.15 p.m.

President: Mr. Noel G. SINCLAIR (Guyana).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2472)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15947);

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Observer for the Republic of Korea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15948);

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15949);

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15950);

Letter dated 2 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15951)

The meeting was called to order at 4.55 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15947);

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Observer for the Republic of Korea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15948);

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15949);

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15950);

Letter dated 2 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15951)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [2470th and 2471st meetings], I invite the representative of Canada and the Observer for the Republic of Korea to take places at the Council table. I invite the representatives of Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Japan, Liberia, New Zealand, Nigeria, the Philippines, Portugal, Sierra Leone, Spain and Sweden to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Pelletier (Canada) and Mr. Kim (Republic of Korea) took places at the Council table; Mr. Joseph (Australia), Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh), Miss Dever (Belgium), Mr. Jelonek (Federal Republic of Germany), Mr. La Rocca (Italy), Mr. Kuroda (Japan), Mrs. Jones (Liberia), Mr. Harland (New Zealand), Mr. Fafo-wora (Nigeria), Mr. Moreno Salcedo (Philippines), Mr. Syder (Portugal), Mr. Koroma (Sierra Leone), Mr. de Piniés (Spain) and Mr. Amneus (Sweden) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Colombia, Egypt, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Malaysia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Albán Holguín (Colombia), Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) and Mr. Syed Ariff (Malaysia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I have asked to speak again today in order to convey to the Council a statement from the Soviet Government on the question that we are discussing which has just been published. I shall read the statement aloud.

"The TASS statement, published on September 2 of this year on instruction of the Soviet Government, already reported the rude violation of the State frontiers of the Soviet Union by a plane, which on the night of August 31-September 1 intruded into the airspace of the USSR over the Kamchatka Peninsula and then in the course of two hours had flown over the Sea of Okhotsk and Sakhalin Island. It also mentioned the measures taken by the anti-aircraft defences, both ground and air ones, with the aim of forcing the plane to land at one of the airfields on Sakhalin Island. The subsequent investigation confirmed the earlier mentioned data and supplemented it.

"The intruder plane entered the airspace over Kamchatka in an area where a most important base of the strategic nuclear forces of the USSR is located. At the same time—and this is now admitted by the American side—another spy plane of the United States Air Force, an RC-135, that is similar to it, was in the same area near the Soviet border at the same altitude.

"Several Soviet interceptor planes were sent aloft. One of them controlled the actions of the American RC-135 plane. A second flew into the area where the intruder plane was and signalled to it that it had intruded into the airspace of the USSR. The warnings were ignored.

"When it was approaching Sakhalin Island the intruder was again intercepted by fighter planes of the anti-aircraft defences, and again attempts were made to establish contact with it, including with the help of the known general call signal on the international emergency frequency of 121.5 megacycles. Contrary to the false contentions of the United States President, Soviet anti-aircraft defence fighter planes are fitted out with communication equipment in which this frequency is fixed. So these signals had to be received by the intruder plane, but it did not respond to them. Neither did it respond, as it has been said earlier, also to other signals and actions of the Soviet fighter planes.

"The Soviet radio-control services picked up short coded radio signals transmitted from time to time, such signals that are usually used in transmitting intelligence information.

"The Anti-Aircraft Forces Command of the area, having analyzed thoroughly the actions of the intruder plane, its route passing also in the area of Sakhalin over military bases, arrived at the conclusion that a reconnaissance aircraft performing special tasks was in the airspace of the USSR. We arrived at this conclusion also because of the fact that the plane was flying over strategically important areas of the Soviet Union. The fighter plane made warning shots with tracer shells along the route of the intruder plane. Such a measure is envisaged by international rules.

"Since even after this the intruder plane did not obey the demand to fly to a Soviet airfield and tried to evade pursuit, the interceptor-fighter plane of the anti-

aircraft defences fulfilled the order of the command post to stop the flight. Such actions are fully in keeping with the law on the State border of the USSR which has been published.

"The Soviet pilots, in stopping the actions of the intruder plane, could not know that it was a civilian aircraft. It was flying without navigation lights, at the height of night, in conditions of bad visibility and was not answering the signals. The assertions of the United States President that Soviet pilots knew that it was a civilian aircraft are not in keeping with reality.

"Dozens of international air routes pass over Soviet territory. Foreign planes have been flying them for many years and nothing has been happening to them so far as they observe the rules.

"We will continue to act in keeping with our legislation, which is fully in accord with international regulations. This wholly applies to the question of ensuring the security of our borders. It is the sovereign right of every State to protect its borders, in particular its airspace. This is one of the commonly recognized principles of international law on which relations between States rest. So the United States President makes himself out as an ignoramus saying, as he did in his address on September 5, that the Soviet Union guards its borders in what it claims is its airspace.

"But the point here, of course, is not the ignorance of one United States official or another; the point is a deliberate pre-planned action in an area which is strategically important to the Soviet Union. The instigators of that action could not help realizing what its outcome would be but went ahead with a major intelligence operation with the use, as is now becoming clear, of a civilian plane, deliberately exposing its passengers to mortal danger.

"Can anyone imagine anything more cynical than Ronald Reagan's statement that no one will ever know how data was fed into the plane's computer which subsequently directed the plane into Soviet airspace to carry out its spying mission. It was not a technical error. The plan was to carry out without a hitch the above intelligence operation, but if it was stymied, to turn everything into a major political provocation against the Soviet Union.

"This conclusion is confirmed by all subsequent actions of the United States Administration. Its leaders, including the President in person, launched a malicious and hostile anti-Soviet campaign over a very short time, clearly using a pre-arranged script. Its essence has been revealed in its concentrated form in a televised speech of the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, on September 5, to try to blacken the image of the Soviet Union and discredit its social system, to provoke a feeling of hatred toward Soviet people, to present the aims of the foreign policy of the USSR in a distorted perspective, and to distract attention from its peace initiatives.

"In a situation when tensions and anti-Soviet hysteria are being whipped up, leaders of the United States would like to evade the solution of major international problems on which the destinies of the peoples depend. And the moment for this provocation has been chosen purposefully. It has been staged precisely now at a time when the question is being solved whether the arms race will be stopped and the threat of nuclear war removed or whether this threat will keep growing. All indications are, including the mentioned speech of the American President, that the United States Administration intends to follow the road of intensifying confrontation with the Soviet Union. Ronald Reagan's credo, to quote him, is 'peace through strength'.

"No amount of discourse upon 'the moral values', 'the spirit of humanism', 'the treasure of human life' can cover up such a policy. Can the statesmen of the country which deprived millions of people in Indo-China of their lives in a most brutal manner, which, at one with Israeli aggressors, is killing the Lebanese and Palestinians, and whose conscience is burdened with tens of thousands of deaths of Chilean and Salvadorian patriots, speak of morality and humanism? The list of crimes committed by American imperialism is a long one and can be continued.

"The people on the plane that was used by American special services for their dirty aims fell victim to a fresh crime.

"The Soviet Government expresses regret over the death of innocent people and shares the sorrow of their bereaved relatives and friends. The entire responsibility for this tragedy rests wholly and fully with the leaders of the United States of America."

4. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Belgium. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

5. Miss DEVER (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): I wish first of all to thank the members of the Council for having kindly permitted Belgium to take part in this debate. Previous speakers have used the words "indignation", "shock", "revulsion", and "horror". Those are the very emotions felt by the Belgian public and Government at the announcement that a civilian aircraft of Korean Air Lines has been cold-bloodedly shot down with 269 persons on board.

6. On the one hand, this is a flagrant violation of the current rules of civil aviation, which bind the Soviet Union as they do the other members of the international community. On the other hand, this is an inhuman act, and a violation of the most elementary rules of conduct among civilized nations, which no motives can justify without injecting an inadmissible element of cynicism into international relations.

7. Even if we suppose—as it has been claimed without the least proof—that Soviet airspace had been violated, other legally defensible possibilities were available. This

unarmed air liner, perfectly identifiable and followed for more than two hours, could have been forced by military aircraft to leave the airspace. It could even have been forced to land.

8. Clearly, the destruction of a civilian aircraft is out of all proportion to its having intruded into Soviet airspace. There seems to be no justification for the invocation of the concept of self-defence as an excuse for this use of force. We cannot imagine that in the eyes of the Soviet Union the security interests it claimed to be defending were so important—especially since so many other technical means exist for risk-free collection of information—as to call for a military attack against an unarmed civilian aircraft, which was downed, it seems, just as it was about to leave Soviet airspace, and thus to demonstrate such contempt for human life.

9. We should still like to believe that this was what has been called an act of bravado on the part of an overzealous subordinate who will be appropriately punished. We do not wish to think that the attack was covered up at a higher level.

10. The international community's acceptance that certain circumstances justified the action which has just cost the lives of 269 men, women and children would introduce a factor of permanent insecurity into international civil aviation.

11. The Soviet Union must shoulder full responsibility for the incident, guarantee facilities for on-site investigation, punish those who turn out to be responsible, and take all measures to avoid any repetition of such incidents.

12. Otherwise, the consequences of this baleful affair will continue to weigh heavily on the atmosphere of international relations at a time when, because of serious international difficulties and important on-going negotiations, we have a greater need than ever for security and for at least a minimum of mutual trust.

13. Mr. AMEGA (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation cordially congratulates you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of September, a month which is beginning under rather gloomy auspices, as though to put to the test once more your great diplomatic talents, which are well known to all. You may be assured that the delegation of Togo will spare no effort to help you in your difficult work.

14. My delegation also congratulates your predecessor, Mr. Luc de La Barre de Nanteuil, a skilled diplomat who guided the Council's work last month in an outstanding manner.

15. It was with amazement and indignation that my country learned of the horrifying news of the loss of 269 innocent human lives, sacrificed for some undefined principle and for a cause whose worth seems by no means beyond question.

16. Did the world need this new tragedy, which has worsened the apocalyptic situation towards which we are being thrust by human intolerance? My delegation does not understand, and it continues to wonder. Why this act of violence, when the present conditions of our common existence require a greater acceptance of man by man, a greater tolerance, and greater co-operation among nations?

17. The deliberate shooting down of a civilian aircraft carrying passengers of various nationalities is a reprehensible act, first of all because it endangers the security of international civil aviation and also because it disturbs international peace and security. Even if there can be no doubt that the South Korean civilian aircraft had strayed from its normal route and for a long time had been in violation of the airspace of a great Power, my delegation feels that the reaction of that great Power to this violation was quite disproportionate. If it had reasons to think that this was not an innocent violation, the Power whose airspace was thus violated has a wide range of means available to it to force the civilian aircraft to land for interrogation and inquiry. That is why my delegation does not understand the explanations provided on the circumstances of this most regrettable incident. For that reason we associate ourselves with the wishes expressed by all delegations that have called for a full elucidation of the circumstances of the incident.

18. It is worth recalling that the Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation of 7 December 1944¹ contains no provision authorizing a State whose airspace has been violated to destroy the civilian aircraft having committed such a violation. In the opinion of my delegation, no motive at all can justify this act of deliberate destruction of a civilian passenger aircraft.

19. It is absolutely essential to guarantee the security of civilian aviation and that of the passengers. It is because this security is disturbed by terrorists who hijack planes that hijacking has been so severely and unanimously condemned by the international community. For the same reasons, my delegation believes that the international community must take all necessary measures in order to ensure that an incident such as this never happens again.

20. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to offer to the bereaved families of the victims of this incident our profound and sincere condolences on behalf of the Government and people of Togo.

21. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Italy. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

22. Mr. LA ROCCA (Italy): I should like, Sir, to offer you my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of September and extend to you my best wishes for success in your high office.

23. Italy has asked to take part in this debate because the question considered by the Council concerns not only

those countries which are more directly involved in one way or another, but touches upon primary interests of the international community as a whole.

24. The tragedy which has resulted in the loss of 269 human lives in the skies of the Far East leaves us in dismay and disbelief. In expressing its sympathy to the Government of the Republic of Korea, together with its sorrow for the innocent victims of the air disaster, the Italian Government has emphasized that this tragic action, which by no means could be justified, has deeply shocked the conscience of all civilized human beings and raised a feeling of deep anguish and grave concern for the consequences it could entail.

25. The picture emerging from the information provided by various sources allows us to reconstruct the essential dynamics of the events leading to the shooting down of the air liner. Nevertheless, it is clear that what is needed today, as a matter of absolute priority, is to complete this picture in all its relevant aspects. Therefore, we still believe that the Soviet Union must give further detailed explanations in order fully to clarify the responsibilities of this tragic event. As I mentioned earlier, the issue before us today is not an event affecting a limited number of States but one that bears upon basic principles and needs shared by the whole international community.

26. An orderly and secure use of the skies is an essential prerequisite for free and peaceful coexistence in our world. Existing international regulations and standards are aimed at achieving this end, while preserving full respect for the sovereignty of individual States. However, beyond any legal consideration there is a humanitarian dimension of the situation before us that cannot be ignored. Whatever the security requirements of States might be—and no one intends to dismiss them—it is absolutely essential that the protection of national airspace be assured by means which will not endanger the lives of innocent and defenceless civilians, with a negative impact on the system of air traffic, which is significant and instrumental to exchanges among peoples and has acquired, in today's world, an increasingly economic, cultural and social relevance.

27. We cannot believe that there are no adequate procedures to effectively prevent intrusions of foreign civilian air liners in national airspace without having to resort to drastic and inhuman options which would compromise the progress already achieved in regulating and protecting international air navigation in the common interest.

28. In this perspective, the Italian delegation firmly believes that the current debate must not only shed light on the incident and lead to ascertaining fully the responsibilities for this tragedy which has deeply shocked public opinion throughout the world; it should also be taken as an opportunity to renew the common awareness that a strong commitment by all States is needed to prevent the threat of tragic events, such as the one involving the Korean air liner, or other similar episodes of the past, from weighing upon the freedom and safety of air traffic,

which is an essential element for orderly and peaceful relations among nations.

29. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Observer for the Republic of Korea, on whom I now call.

30. Mr. KIM (Republic of Korea): Thank you, Mr. President, for giving my delegation an opportunity to address the Council once again.

31. May I express my delegation's strong confidence, Sir, that, with your experience, judgement and courage, you will be able to discharge your important responsibilities as President superbly and brilliantly. Indeed, this ability has already been amply demonstrated by the skilled and most judicious manner in which you have guided the Council's very difficult deliberations so far.

32. The Council has been called into session to deal with issues raised by an incident which is at once a tragedy and a heinous crime. It is a tragedy because 269 totally innocent lives, including men, women and children of many different nations, were killed for no apparent reason, without any conceivable cause or understandable purpose. It was a senseless and cruel tragedy. As President Chun Doo Hwan of my country said, we pray for the passengers and crew who were victimized in this tragic incident.

33. The tragedy, as we all know, was the result of a crime, a barbaric act of brutal, wanton violence committed against totally innocent and defenceless people who were only looking forward to another happy landing at Kimpo International Airport in Seoul.

34. In case the representative of the Soviet Union needs to be reminded, the crime—a cold-blooded massacre in the air—was committed by Soviet military authorities. By firing a heat-seeking missile into a Korean Air Lines Boeing 747 passenger aeroplane, Soviet fighter pilots murdered 269 innocent persons. By giving orders to the pilots to shoot down the unarmed civilian aeroplane, Soviet authorities committed the foulest and most heinous murder in the history of civil aviation.

35. I am afraid that it is impossible to undo the tragedy: we cannot bring back the dead. Neither can the Soviet Union undo the crime it has committed. It cannot evade responsibility for the crime it has committed.

36. To deal with the consequences of this crime and to ensure the future safety of international civil aviation, my Government has demanded that the Soviet Union must take at least the following five steps which I included in my earlier statement of 2 September [2470th meeting] but will summarize here once more, if representatives will bear with me. First, as Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country emphasized on 2 September, the Soviet Union must tell the world the whole truth concerning this clearly illegal and savage act. Secondly, the Soviet Union must offer a formal apology and full and immediate compensation to the families of the victims—and, I should add, to Korean Air Lines. Such measures as apologies and compensation, as we all know, are absolute requirements

under the principles of international law. Thirdly, the Soviet Union must severely punish all those who are responsible for the shooting down of the unarmed civilian aeroplane. Fourthly, the Soviet Union must allow appropriate international organizations, as well as the Governments of the States whose citizens were on the plane, to have unimpeded access to the area where the plane was shot down by a Soviet missile so as to conduct a thorough investigation into the criminal act. Finally, the Soviet Union must offer effective guarantees against a similar incident in the future.

37. I set out those demands in my first statement and many representatives have since expressed strong support for my Government's position. I wish to take this opportunity to express my Government's profound gratitude to those nations which have extended to us their sympathy and support in this regard. I wish particularly to express our deep appreciation to many third-world nations for their expressions of a sense of solidarity in this hour of grief and moral outrage.

38. There is, however, one country which has not shown any remorse or anguish or sense of moral regret over the tragedy which has happened. That country, as we all know, is the Soviet Union. As we have witnessed during the past few days, the Soviet Union refuses to give an honest and direct accounting of exactly what has happened. While the world waits for the Soviet Union to provide a straightforward answer, the Russians have been busy concocting flagrant lies.

39. On the afternoon of 2 September [*ibid.*], in the Council, the representative of the Soviet Union supplied us with a fictional account by TASS in which the Soviet Union makes the preposterous allegation that the Korean Air Lines plane in question was carrying out what TASS called "intelligence aims". What is interesting about this piece of Soviet fiction is that it quite faithfully betrays the mentality of its author. The truth is that only the Soviet Union would try "to attain special intelligence aims without hindrance using civilian planes as a cover", as TASS says. Only a totalitarian State whose scale of values does not place much weight on human lives can even imagine that one would risk jeopardizing the lives of hundreds of innocent persons, from many different nations, "to attain special intelligence aims".

40. Speaking for my country, the Republic of Korea could not even conceive of using civilian commercial airlines to gather intelligence, let alone actually engage in such reckless, inhuman and immoral practice.

41. After issuing the statement on 2 September, however, Russian propaganda specialists must have come to realize that it would sound quite preposterous and not believable to the outsider world, because the TASS press agency was burdened on 4 September—two days after making the initial allegation—with the task of issuing another lie. The new lie, the new fiction—this time attributed to General Semyon Romanov, Chief of the main staff of the anti-aircraft defence forces—implies, without precisely stating so however, that the Russian pilots may

have mistaken the Korean Air Lines Boeing 747 for the RC-135 American reconnaissance plane.

42. Now, everyone knows that the Boeing 747 and the RC-135 are of different sizes and different shapes. Unless Soviet fighter pilots are recruited exclusively from only those with seriously defective eyesight, it is impossible to imagine that they could have mistaken one aeroplane for the other.

43. But what is even more interesting to note is the fact that the lies offered by the Soviet Union on 2 and 4 September, respectively, are in mutual contradiction with each other. Are the TASS editors aware of the fact that, if the Soviet pilots shot down the Korean Air Lines aeroplane—as they initially seemed to have implied—because they believed it was carrying out intelligence functions, they could not at the same time say that they believed they were shooting down a different aeroplane, an RC-135?

44. Such logical errors, it seems to me, reflect not so much the level of intelligence among TASS editors as the fact that a lie, once uttered, leads to another lie and more lies, which inevitably contradict one other, because they are unrelated to truth. It is in the nature of a cover-up that it cannot but be self-defeating. He who lies must lie more and more to cover up his earlier lies until he is destroyed by his own lies. That, clearly, is the present predicament of the Soviet Union.

45. I shall not take up more of the Council's valuable time listing all the lies the Russians have been busily concocting to cover up their heinous crime, because to do so would take up too much time, and, besides, it is unnecessary, as we can all see through Soviet lies without too much difficulty. But before I conclude, I must point out one incredible fact and ask one central question.

46. The incredible fact is that the Soviet Union in the last few days, including today, has been busy inventing lies to justify an action which it does not admit to having taken. This I can only say is a strange spectacle indeed. Why should the Russians issue all those TASS fictions and Government statements when they are not admitting to having taken the action which those fictions and lies are clearly intended to justify? Interestingly enough, the representative of the Soviet Union kindly read to us this afternoon a statement by his Government which, after telling now-familiar lies about the Korean Air Lines plane allegedly carrying out intelligence functions, declares that the Soviet plane "fulfilled the order of the command post to stop the flight" of "the intruder plane" [*para. 3*] and that "The Soviet pilots, in stopping the actions of the intruder plane, could not know that it was a civilian aircraft" [*ibid.*].

47. The evidence presented this morning proves beyond any shred of doubt that the Korean Air Lines plane in question had its navigational lights on and that the Soviet pilot saw those lights. What spy planes would have navigational lights on while intruding into another country's

airspace? The Soviet allegation is obviously ridiculous, false and untrue.

48. What is even more curious is that once again the Soviet authorities could not quite bring themselves to admit explicitly in a straightforward manner that their forces after all shot down the Korean Air Lines plane. Instead, they once again used evasive and cowardly words to imply, without saying so, that they did indeed shoot down the Korean Air Lines plane.

49. I wonder why Soviet officials are so hesitant about using more direct, explicit and honest expressions. I wonder whether it may not be because even the people in the so-called ruling circles of the Soviet Union are aware of the fact that in the final analysis nothing, absolutely nothing, can justify the cold-blooded, brutal murder of defenceless, innocent civilians of many different nations.

50. In 1973, when an incident involving a Libyan civil aeroplane was discussed at the nineteenth extraordinary session of the Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) on 28 February, the Soviet delegation referred to the incident as a "criminal act of international terrorism". He further stated that "ICAO cannot remain aloof from this barbaric act". The Soviet representative concluded that the ICAO Assembly "must strongly condemn this criminal act".

51. Let us hope that the Soviet Union has not forgotten its own words. Let us also hope that it will not only remember its own words but apply them to its own conduct.

52. Now, the question. The central question I should like to put to the Soviet representative is this. Before the Soviet Union produces more lies to justify an action it does not have the courage to admit to having taken, it must, first, answer these questions: Did you or did you not shoot down the unarmed, defenceless Korean Air Lines plane? Did you or did you not murder 269 innocent people? Did you or did you not commit the most heinous massacre ever committed in the air? If you say that you did not, which my impression is that most quarters now seem to have the courage to question, the world will know you are simply lying. After what we heard this morning [*2471st meeting*], there cannot be any doubt in anybody's mind as to who murdered 269 innocent people aboard the Korean Air Lines plane. However, if you are prepared to admit openly, honestly, explicitly, in a straightforward manner, sincerely, that you did indeed commit the murder, you will at least have taken the first step in the right direction.

53. We sincerely hope that the Soviet Union will reconsider its attitude and decide to tell us the truth. We hope so for the sake of the victims of this unspeakable, barbarous crime. The dead are now voiceless. But we, whose lives may yet be put in jeopardy if this crime is allowed to go unpunished, must speak up. We must do everything possible within our power to guarantee the safety of all future air travellers. The Council, even though its capacity to act is often constrained, as we all know, must perform

its duty as the court of decent opinion of mankind. On this very crisis which faces the Council today, mankind has already clearly spoken its judgement. Condemnation of the Soviet crime is universal and unambiguous. The world now awaits action by this body. Let us hope the Council will discharge its responsibilities responsibly, courageously and effectively.

54. I must also warn the Soviet Union that the world will never settle for lies and evasions. The words that Soviet officials have uttered on this tragic incident amount to an insult to the intelligence of mankind. Even now the Soviet Union refuses to respond with any trace of honesty and a minimum of human decency to the eloquent expressions of grief and moral outrage by the representatives of all the countries that are participating in the Council's discussion. I warn the Soviet Union that the civilized world will continue to pursue the matter beyond the walls of this chamber and press the guilty until the Soviet authorities admit to their crime and accede to the five demands my Government has put forward.

55. If Moscow believes it can evade its responsibilities by telling lies and more lies, it seriously underestimates the powers of intelligence and conscience of mankind. The Soviet Union will never—I repeat, never—be able to avoid the consequences of its crime.

56. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Sierra Leone. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

57. Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): Mr. President, I wish to thank you and the other members of the Council severally and collectively for granting my delegation the opportunity to participate in your deliberations on the matter before the Council—the tragic loss of the Korean jet air liner. But before doing so I wish to state, Sir, that the Council is fortunate to have a diplomat of your calibre presiding over its affairs at this moment in time. We have had the privilege of working closely with you and can attest to your high level of competence and impartiality and to your ability to find solutions to difficult issues, qualities which the Council will surely need during this difficult period of its deliberations.

58. The Sierra Leone Government, on learning about this tragic incident, issued the following statement which, with your permission, Sir, I will now read. The statement reads as follows:

“Reports that a Korean aircraft on a regular scheduled flight from New York to Seoul disappeared and wreckage was spotted over the Sea of Japan has reached the Government of Sierra Leone with profound shock.

“The Government of Sierra Leone views this unfortunate incident with grave concern, considering, in particular, the implications and consequences it has for international air travel.

“It is out of this concern, the tragic loss of life and the ever-present need to make our international community more secure, that the Government of Sierra Leone supports the call for the Security Council to meet and fully investigate the cause of the disappearance of the Korean Air Lines aircraft.”

59. Since this tragic incident took place, there has been an incessant flow of evidence as to what really happened. However, such information has remained incomplete and in some cases confusing. A lot of questions remain unanswered. And it is in this respect and also to ensure that such an incident does not occur in the future that my Government feels impelled to call for a thorough investigation of the incident.

60. The tragedy which surrounds the Korean jet air liner further demonstrates the need to reduce international tension through confidence-building measures.

61. We should also like to take this opportunity to express our heartfelt condolences to the bereaved families of those who perished in the tragedy.

62. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Nigeria, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

63. Mr. FAFOWORA (Nigeria): As this is my first statement in a formal meeting of the Council under your presidency, Sir, I should like first of all to avail myself of this opportunity to extend to you and to the delegation of Guyana my warmest congratulations on your accession to the presidency. I have particular pleasure in doing so, not only because Guyana is a Commonwealth country with which my own country, Nigeria, has very cordial relations, but also because we are familiar with your considerable diplomatic skills, patience, wisdom and tact. These qualities will be sorely tested in the difficult days ahead when, under your guidance, the Council continues its deliberations on this tragic event. But we are confident that you will bring your considerable diplomatic resources to bear on the efforts of the Council to resolve this problem.

64. The Government and people of Nigeria were deeply shocked and stunned by the shooting down on Thursday, 1 September, of an unarmed civilian jumbo jet of Korean Air Lines on a routine commercial flight from New York to Seoul. We grieve and mourn the loss of 269 innocent lives in the horrendous tragedy, which was totally unnecessary. It is incomprehensible that a civilian plane on a routine commercial flight should have been so wantonly destroyed. Many explanations have been given for this tragedy and it may well be that the full facts concerning this most unfortunate incident have not yet been fully established. To be charitable, one might even recognize the probability that this was the result of a simple blunder by an air force pilot and that the Korean jet air liner was accidentally shot down in the mistaken belief that it was a spy plane.

65. Regardless of the circumstances and any explanation which may be proffered—and so far the explanations have left many questions unanswered—there can be no justification whatever for shooting down the unarmed Korean civilian air liner which resulted in the death of 269 innocent passengers.

66. But this incident is a symptom of a much deeper malaise in the international situation. The world is today beset by a host of human tragedies, conflicts and destruction, most of which are a direct consequence of increased international tension. In recent times, the super-Powers appear to have embarked on confrontation and on a collision path, thereby posing a grave danger, not only to international peace and security but also to the very existence and safety of ordinary men, women and children throughout the world who simply want to live in peace. In Africa, the ambitions and rivalry of the super-Powers is reflected in the series of civil wars in our continent, particularly in southern Africa, where tension, conflict and loss of life have become all too common. It is a totally deplorable situation and one which calls for a deliberate and sustained effort by the super-Powers to seek accommodation and co-operation between themselves in order to reduce international tension.

67. In the case of the Korean jet incident, the fundamental principle of air safety appears to have been grossly violated. Airline passengers have an inherent right to travel in safety. That right is now being placed in jeopardy by the event of last week. It is a very grave matter and calls for the concern of the entire international community, for who knows what might happen next? It is not really difficult to imagine how easily a nuclear exchange between the two super-Powers may occur through a similar military blunder and we already have some well-documented accounts of such horrendous near-misses. It is intolerable that innocent lives should have been so wantonly destroyed for security reasons which, in retrospect, may not have been well founded.

68. My Government is deeply concerned about the possible consequences of this act, which even now may not be totally or correctly foreseen. We urge that air safety rules be tightened so as to prevent a reoccurrence of the Korean jet incident. It is also our expectation that in the course of time, when the facts of the incident have been fully established, necessary financial restitution will be made to the families of the innocent victims of that incident.

69. We ask you, Sir, to convey our condolences to all the bereaved families.

70. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Bangladesh. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

71. Mr. CHOWDHURY (Bangladesh): It is an honour for my delegation to participate in this Council debate when you, Sir, are presiding over this body. We are confident that your wisdom, long experience and diplomatic skill will surely guide our deliberations in the right direction.

72. My Delegation would also like to take this opportunity to convey our deep appreciation to your predecessor, the representative of France, for his outstanding leadership in guiding the work of the Council during the month of August.

73. The news of the disappearance and destruction of a civilian aircraft of the Republic of Korea with 269 passengers on board has deeply shocked the Government and people of Bangladesh. Their feelings have found profound expression in the message of Lieutenant-General H. M. Ershad, President of the Council of Ministers of Bangladesh, addressed to the President of the Republic of Korea, Chun Doo Hwan, on 2 September. In his message the President of the Council of Ministers expressed shock at "the tragic loss of innocent human lives" and extended "heartfelt sympathy and condolences to the bereaved families".

74. This incident is a tragedy of serious magnitude. The destruction of a civilian aircraft causing death to 269 innocent men, women and children has deeply shocked and saddened all peace-loving and justice-upholding peoples. The people of Bangladesh share the grief and sorrow of the bereaved families that have lost their near and dear ones on board the ill-fated aircraft.

75. Every independent State has the exclusive right to exercise sovereignty over its airspace. Indeed, it is an internationally recognized principle. At the same time, no principle of international norms or civilized code of conduct can justify the destruction of a scheduled plane flying over the airspace of a third country under any circumstances, especially when such an action endangers innocent human lives. International conventions on civil aviation grant safety and security to civilian aircraft overflying the airspace of foreign countries. An incident of such a nature, therefore, is tantamount to the violation of obligations enshrined in international conventions. This tragic incident has made it imperative to ensure the adoption of all possible measures to prevent the recurrence of such disasters.

76. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Spain. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

77. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, your well-known competence, skill and intelligence bode well for the Council's debates. Having been a colleague of yours in the Council last year, I am convinced that you will lead its deliberations to a satisfactory conclusion.

78. On 31 August, my Government learned of the destruction of a commercial air liner of the Republic of Korea that carried 269 persons, passengers and crew, over waters near the Japanese island of Hokkaido.

79. As soon as my Government learned that fact, it publicly stated, in a note from the Diplomatic Information Office, that, were the deliberate nature of that act of destruction to be confirmed, "that act would represent a

serious violation of international law, a blow to relations among peoples and a grave injury to the moral conscience of humanity."

80. In the same note, the Spanish Government, after expressing its heartfelt condolences to the Government of the Republic of Korea as well as to the Governments of the other victims who perished as a result of this tragic incident, urged that an unequivocal and adequate explanation of the facts be provided.

81. My Government believes that the explanations given so far by the Soviet Union with regard to this incident are unsatisfactory. We therefore support the proposal submitted to the Council by other countries to ask the Secretary-General to conduct an investigation into the facts and to report to the Council on the outcome.

82. Spain, as a member of the Permanent Council of ICAO, also believes that ICAO could conduct a technical analysis of the incident that could thus contribute to shedding some light on the facts.

83. Despite the extraordinary gravity of this incident, one that has aroused the natural condemnation of all peace-loving peoples, my delegation believes that the efforts that are being undertaken to achieve détente in international relations at various levels and in various forums must continue. It is precisely in times of tension that we must not lose sight of the priority goals of détente and peace.

84. My Government hopes that at the meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs that begins tomorrow at Madrid a contribution may be made towards those objectives.

85. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Malaysia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

86. Mr. SYED ARIFF (Malaysia): May I at the outset congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of September. My delegation is pleased to see in the chair a person of your stature, experience and ability. Given your qualities my delegation is confident the Council will be able to achieve constructive results. At the same time I should like to take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation to you and, through you, to the members of the Council, for giving me the opportunity to address the Council this afternoon.

87. It was with shock and indignation that the Government and people of Malaysia learned of the circumstances of the shooting of the South Korean commercial air liner on 31 August. Subsequently my Government issued a statement which reads as follows:

"Malaysia is horrified and appalled over the reported shooting down of an unarmed Korean civilian commercial aircraft, which was flying from Anchorage to Seoul, by Soviet military aircraft, causing the death of 269 lives in the aircraft. Malaysia joins the interna-

tional community in condemning, in the most serious terms, this wanton act of savagery and arrogance which is in complete disregard for human lives and international convention and good sense. We call upon the guilty party concerned to give a full explanation of this unpardonable act to the world community and to take all necessary steps to fully redress the harm done to the kith and kin of the unfortunate passengers."

88. The loss of 269 innocent lives makes the incident one of the worst air disasters in aviation history. There can be no justification, whatever might have been the circumstances, for the downing of the unarmed civilian aircraft serving no military purpose, even if it had strayed into Soviet airspace.

89. This latest incident has raised serious questions with regard to the safety of international civil aviation. This callous action should never have occurred and must not be allowed to occur again. The Council should now be seized to initiate a process to prevent a repetition of such an occurrence.

90. Air travel today is so extensive and the air lanes so crowded that it is impossible to discount a navigational or human error in operating an aircraft. My delegation is in full agreement with the statement of the representative of Pakistan that what is required in such circumstances is the exercise of compassion and forbearance and the avoidance of extreme and drastic measures. In any case, there are standard procedures to be followed if an unidentified commercial aircraft strays into foreign airspace. But shooting down the plane is definitely not one of the standard procedures.

91. My delegation joins other members of the international community in demanding an immediate and full accounting of the incident from the Soviet authorities. Although there have been conjectures in this regard, we feel they are insufficient. The Soviet Union owes the international community a full explanation of the circumstances surrounding the shooting down of the South Korean aircraft, and we appeal to the Soviet Union to live up to this responsibility.

92. My delegation would also like to join the international community in expressing to members of the bereaved families our deep sympathy and profound condolences on the loss of their loved ones in this tragic incident. In accordance with the rules and practices of international civil aviation, the Soviet Union must be urged to compensate immediately the kith and kin of these unfortunate victims.

93. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

94. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, I should like on behalf of my delegation to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. My

delegation is pleased to see you guiding our deliberations since yours is a friendly and non-aligned country.

95. My delegation extends its condolences and sympathy to the families of the innocent people who lost their lives aboard the South Korean aircraft.

96. My delegation knows very well what the situation is like inasmuch as our country experienced a similar loss when a Libyan aircraft on a flight from Tripoli to Cairo on 21 February 1973 was shot down with missiles and destroyed in a piratical act on the part of air force planes belonging to the Zionist entity. Aboard that plane were 104 civilian passengers and 9 crew members. That Zionist act of aggression took a toll of 108 victims. They were of many nationalities, including 39 Egyptians, 4 Syrians, 2 Britons, 4 Jordanians, 3 Lebanese, 1 American, 1 German and 45 Libyans, as well as 2 Palestinians and the French pilot and the French flight engineer.

97. That act of aggression was the first incident of its kind in which a civilian aircraft was exposed to direct aggression from the Zionist occupying forces in Sinai at the time. Despite its well-deserved and widespread condemnation, that act was not, I am sorry to say, the object of such an intense—although legitimate—world-wide campaign such as the one we are witnessing today.

98. The Zionist act of aggression against the Libyan civilian aircraft and this incident involving the South Korean aircraft must show the whole world that there are important matters to be taken into account: first of all, the grave risk that the use of reconnaissance planes may represent to international civilian aviation, and the ensuing tragedies like the one we are facing today. Reconnaissance and AWACS planes have also been used in the Mediterranean region to jam civilian aircraft communications and disrupt air traffic, and if this situation continues it will cause many international catastrophes.

99. We must not let this terrible incident be used to settle international scores or cast aspersions on a specific party. Instead, we should treat it as a lesson and draw the appropriate conclusions so as to put an end to such incidents and ensure safe international air traffic.

100. The exploitation of this human tragedy for narrow, electoral-campaign reasons or to settle scores will only complicate matters. It would be more worthwhile for the Council to study the matter more objectively.

101. What were the causes of this incident and of the aforementioned incident involving Zionist aggression against a Libyan aircraft? What harm is caused by the use of reconnaissance and other aircraft to jam civilian aircraft communications and disrupt civilian air traffic? If acts of this sort continue, we can only expect further tragic incidents.

102. While we draw the attention of the Council anew to an incident that occurred years ago, we hope that what has happened today is a lesson that should remind us of what has happened in the past.

103. We reaffirm our keen desire to continue to contribute to the efforts to devise ways and means of ensuring the safety of international civil aviation and to prevent tragedies that could result from violations of international laws and norms.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.

NOTE

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 15, No. 102.

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UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL

OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR

2473rd

MEETING: 7 SEPTEMBER 1983

NEW YORK

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2473rd MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 7 September 1983, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Noel G. SINCLAIR (Guyana).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2473)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15947);
Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Observer for the Republic of Korea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15948);
Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15949);
Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15950);
Letter dated 2 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15951)

The meeting was called to order at 4.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

- Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15947);
Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Observer for the Republic of Korea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15948);
Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15949);

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15950);

Letter dated 2 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15951)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item [2470th to 2472nd meetings], I invite the representative of Canada and the Observer for the Republic of Korea to take places at the Council table. I invite the representative of Canada and the Observer of the Republic of Korea to take places at the Council table. I invite the representatives of Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Colombia, Egypt, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Japan, Liberia, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, New Zealand, Nigeria, the Philippines, Portugal, Sierra Leone, Spain and Sweden to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Pelletier (Canada) and Mr. Kim (Republic of Korea) took places at the Council table; Mr. Joseph (Australia), Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh), Miss Dever (Belgium), Mr. Albán Holguín (Colombia), Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Jelonek (Federal Republic of Germany), Mr. La Rocca (Italy), Mr. Kuroda (Japan), Mrs. Jones (Liberia), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Syed Ariff (Malaysia), Mr. Harland (New Zealand), Mr. Fafowora (Nigeria), Mr. Moreno Salcedo (Philippines), Mrs. Martinho (Portugal), Mr. Koroma (Sierra Leone), Mr. de Piniés (Spain) and Mr. Amneus (Sweden) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bulgaria, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Fiji, the German Democratic Republic, Guatemala, Ireland, Kenya, and Singapore in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Garvalov (Bulgaria), Mr. Zumbado Jiménez (Costa Rica), Mr. Knipping Victoria (Dominican Republic), Mr. Aibornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Radrodro (Fiji), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic)

lic), Mr. Delprée Crespo (Guatemala), Mr. McDonagh (Ireland), Mr. Wabuge (Kenya) and Mr. Koh (Singapore) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/15957, which contains the text of a letter dated 6 September from the representative of Greece to the President of the Council.

4. The first speaker is the representative of Singapore. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. KOH (Singapore): The conduct of the Soviet Union during the past week reminds one of a person who has done something wrong but who cannot summon the courage to admit his wrongdoing and to accept responsibility for his action. Instead of promptly admitting that it had shot down the Korean civil aircraft, apologizing for its action and offering to pay compensation, the Soviet Union has resorted to one excuse after another in order to exonerate itself from blame.

6. The statements issued by TASS described the Korean aircraft as an "unidentified plane". How can the Korean aircraft be unidentified when the name and logo of the Korean Air Lines were painted on it? How can it be unidentified when Soviet interceptors came within two kilometres of the plane and the pilot of a Soviet interceptor aircraft was heard to have said that he was going round the Korean aircraft and moving in front of it?

7. The statements issued by TASS, as well as by our colleagues, Messrs. Troyanovsky and Ovinnikov, in the Council [2470th, 2471st and 2472nd meetings], claimed that the plane did not have navigation lights. This claim would appear to be contradicted by the transcript of the recording we heard yesterday, 6 September [2471st meeting]. We heard the pilot of a Soviet interceptor aircraft informing his ground control that the air navigation lights of the Korean aircraft were burning and its strobe light was flashing. Soviet statements have claimed that the Korean aircraft did not react to radio signals of the Soviet interceptors; that it did not respond to signals intended to take it to the nearest airfield in the territory of the Soviet Union and that it did not respond to warning shots and tracer shells fired along the flying route of the plane. It is difficult for us to know whether these things were, in fact, done or not. If they were, they were not contained in the communications between the pilots of the Soviet interceptor aircraft and their ground control which we heard yesterday.

8. The Soviet Union has suggested that the intrusion by the Korean aircraft into Soviet airspace was not accidental but was deliberate. It was suggested that there was a conspiracy between the United States and the Republic of Korea to use the Korean aircraft to carry out an espionage mission. In his statement on 6 September [*ibid.*], Mr. Troyanovsky suggested that the Korean aircraft could have been sent deliberately into Soviet airspace in order to test the reactions of the Soviet air defence system which

could then be monitored by the United States RC-135 reconnaissance plane, which was in the general area at one point in time. It is difficult for us to believe that the Governments of the Republic of Korea and the United States of America and the management of the Korean Air Lines would be prepared to jeopardize the lives of innocent men, women and children on such a mission.

9. Two other hypotheses have been put forward by others to explain how the Korean aircraft could have been shot down by the Soviet Union. One hypothesis is that the Soviet Union could have mistaken it for a reconnaissance aircraft, such as the United States RC-135. The mistaken identity hypothesis is difficult to accept because the Korean aircraft was a Boeing 747, which has a very distinctive silhouette and because it was visually sighted by the Soviet interceptors. The other hypothesis was put forward by the representative of Sweden in his statement to the Council yesterday. He said:

"It is a well known fact that the Soviet Union has severe rules of its own for the protection of the State boundary, enabling Soviet units to use force even against civilian aircraft. Such rules and instructions are not in accordance with generally accepted norms of international law relevant to civilian transportation." [*Ibid.*, para. 80.]

If the Swedish hypothesis is correct, the Korean aircraft was shot down in accordance with Soviet standing rules and instructions. If this was the case, then we must join the representative of Sweden in pointing out to the Soviet Union that its rules and instructions are contrary to international law, and to the specific rules governing international civil aviation. Annex 2 of the Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation,¹ to which the Soviet Union is a party, contains the rules of the air. These rules set forth the procedures to be used when intercepting a foreign aircraft not properly within the airspace of the intercepting country. The procedures include radio communications, the rocking of wings and the irregular flashing of lights. The rules of the air do not include the shooting down of civilian aircraft. Attachment A to Annex 2 of the Chicago Convention² states that the interception of civil aircraft should be avoided and should be undertaken only as a last resort. If undertaken, the interception should be limited to determining the identity of the aircraft and providing any navigational guidance necessary for the safe conduct of the flight. It states very clearly that intercepting aircraft should refrain from the use of weapons in all cases.

10. There are some troublesome questions about this case, the answers to which we do not know. We do not know why the Korean aircraft, equipped with very sophisticated navigational equipment and computers, had departed from its scheduled route and intruded into Soviet airspace. We do not know whether American and Japanese air controllers knew that the Korean aircraft had deviated from its authorized route and intruded into Soviet airspace and, if they did, why they did not warn the Korean aircraft. Whatever the answers to these questions may be, they do not, however, affect the legal fact that the

Soviet Union had no legal right, under international law, to shoot down the Korean civil aircraft. What the Soviet Union has done is clearly contrary to international law generally, and to the Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation,³ in particular.

11. For these reasons, my Government, therefore, supports the five demands made by the Observer of the Republic of Korea in his statement to the Council on 2 September. First, he demanded that the Soviet Union offer a full and detailed account of what had actually happened. Secondly, he demanded that the Soviet Union offer its apology to the Republic of Korea, to the countries of which the passengers were nationals and to the families of the deceased and pay compensation for the losses suffered. Thirdly, he demanded that the Soviet Union punish all those who are directly responsible for the tragedy. Fourthly, he demanded that the Soviet Union give unimpeded access to the crash site to the representatives of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) and to the Government of his country. Fifthly, he demanded that the Soviet Union give credible guarantees against the recurrence of the use of force against unarmed civil aircraft [2470th meeting, paras. 17 to 21].

12. The tragedy which has occurred has raised two other questions in our minds. First, it makes us wonder whether the structure of Soviet military command is subject to the control of the civilian leadership in Moscow. Secondly, it makes us wonder whether the person or persons in the Soviet Union whose finger or fingers are on the nuclear button, have steady nerves and could be relied upon, in a crisis, to avoid making a bad judgement.

13. We appeal to the Soviet Union to admit its responsibility for its illegal destruction of the Korean civil aircraft and to accept the consequences of its action. We also appeal to the Soviet Union and to other countries not to turn this tragedy into a new bout of East-West confrontation. It would be a great pity if the positive trend in the relations between the two super-Powers which we have witnessed during the past few months were to be completely wiped out.

14. There is therefore much at stake in this debate. We must do justice to the 269 men, women and children who have lost their lives. We must reaffirm the validity of the legal rules governing international civil aviation and demand that the Soviet Union bring its domestic rules and instructions into conformity with international law. We must also try to contain the damage done by the Soviet action to the international political situation.

15. Mr. President, at this difficult moment the Council is fortunate to have at its helm a man of your intelligence, knowledge and diplomatic skills. Under your able leadership, we hope that the Council will conclude its consideration of this question by the adoption of a course of action which would be both just and wise.

16. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Colombia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

17. Mr. ALBÁN HOLGUÍN (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, I wish to express to the President and the members of the Council my delegation's gratitude for having been permitted to make known its views on the issue for which the Council has been convened and to congratulate you, Sir, for the intelligent and brilliant manner in which you are presiding over these debates.

18. I am firmly convinced of the effectiveness of the debate that are taking place in this body, for they make it possible to consider different views in the quest for peace and international understanding.

19. The facts, as we have learnt them, are that a Korean Air Lines passenger aircraft strayed from its normal course and penetrated several kilometres into the airspace of the Soviet Union, as a result of which Soviet military aircraft, after having followed the passenger aircraft for a long time, decided to destroy it, resulting in the death of 269 persons who, like thousands of persons the world over, had decided to board a plane on that day.

20. My Government would like to convey to the Government and people of Korea, as well as to the families of the victims, their peoples and Governments, its sentiments of consternation and sorrow over what has taken place.

21. This is a fact which can undoubtedly be described as a serious crime against mankind, for it is a violation of the basic rules on which the civil aviation system is based on whose respect depends the possibility for this kind of transport to exist. Colombia was a pioneer country in civil aviation, and we are particularly sensitive to any violation of the norms governing it.

22. All the laws of civil aviation are based on the principle that the lives and safety of passengers are more important than any political or economic interests of States. Hence we have various forms of mutual assistance to aircraft and the co-operation of Governments to diminish the risks inherent in air travel. As was so very well put by the representative of Sweden [2471st meeting], those principles are valid even in cases where aircraft penetrate areas restricted for reasons of security, and, even in a case of conflict, respect for human life should take precedence over the protection of territory.

23. It is difficult to believe that it was the Soviet Government which ordered the shooting down of the passenger aircraft or that it had established security arrangements that made it impossible to implement principles so deeply rooted in the international community. It is precisely the Convention for the suppression of unlawful acts against the safety of civil aviation, concluded at Montreal in 1971,⁴ which in its Article 1 states that: "Any person commits an offence if he . . . destroys an aircraft in service or causes damage to such an aircraft which renders it incapable of flight". I wish to add here that one of the three States depositories and guarantors of that Convention is specifically the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

24. It is likely that the military commander of the area, acting without humanitarian criteria, without appropriate information and without political power, decided on his own to eliminate a possible threat that he believed to be serious and ordered the aircraft shot down. With a huge arsenal made available to him, he decided to cut short the lives of 269 defenceless persons.

25. By that act, in addition to a crime, a political mistake was made in placing arms—and arms of advanced technology—in the hands of persons who did not have a clear concept of their duty *vis-à-vis* mankind. That is a dangerous game that can lead to deadly consequences. Today it is an aircraft; tomorrow it may be a city, a people or a continent which falls victim to the mistake made by a person who at a certain moment decides the classification of a threat directed at a country. To what extent are nuclear arms handled by such weak controls? Into what terrible situations may the international community be dragged by that system? Therefore, my country has always supported initiatives to achieve the control, reduction and limitation of arms and has fostered improvement of relations among States by means of dialogue and negotiation.

26. We fervently hope that the Soviet Union will give detailed information on the events and will make it possible to investigate the facts, as they occurred. No State can legitimately refuse to allow the compilation of such information, which alone will make it possible to continue to have open skies for all aircraft and enable passengers to travel freely, without the fear of armed aggression.

27. Such events must not recur in the future, and to this end the Council must spare no effort. Only a thorough and complete investigation of the facts will make it possible to lay down clear and practical foundations which will be the rules of the game of commercial aviation, respected by all States.

28. In this connection, we unreservedly support the Spanish proposal [2472nd meeting] that a specialized, apolitical body such as the ICAO be charged with investigating the facts and establishing the causes.

29. This incident has undoubtedly not only led to grave confusion but also strained relations between States. But if these meetings of the Council lead to reasonable measures which contribute to restoring trust between peoples, to détente, to a diminution of conflict and to more security and safety in the air, the sacrifice of these human lives will perhaps not have been completely in vain.

30. In the meantime, we express our grave concern in the face of this open grave in the immense ocean brought about by a lack of understanding of the basic rules of universal coexistence.

31. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Fiji, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

32. Mr. RADRODRO (Fiji): First, Sir, I should like to thank you and the other members of the Council for giving my delegation the opportunity to take part in this debate. We congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for the month of September and are confident that your proven ability and skill will be of great value in the present deliberations of the Council.

33. Permit me also, Sir, to pay tribute to your predecessor, the representative of France, who presided with great skill and ability over the work of the Council during the month of August.

34. My delegation is compelled to add its voice to this debate and to join others in condemning the Soviet Union's action in the incident that is now before the Council. That incident represents, in our view, a new low as a wanton act of violence.

35. The tragic episode involving the Korean jet air liner has been minutely detailed before the Council by various sources over the last two days of its debate. The Soviet Union has at least admitted that its fighter plane shot down the Korean air liner.

36. There is no doubt that this Soviet action is contrary to the basic norms of international behaviour. There is also no doubt that the Soviet Union's action violates the laws governing international civil aviation. For our part, we regard the evidence produced as irrefutable.

37. Whatever may have been the circumstances, the shooting down of a civilian aircraft carrying so many passengers and serving no military purpose cannot be justified. The destruction of the aircraft, with the consequent loss of lives, represents, in our view, a gross violation of international law and the basic tenets of humanity.

38. There are well-established State practices, in addition to the well-defined principles of the ICAO, which govern situations where a State's airspace is violated. It would be incredible for the Soviet Union to suggest that in this incident, in order to protect its sovereignty over its airspace, it was necessary to retaliate in the manner in which it did.

39. The right of all States to enforce respect for the sovereignty of their airspace, like the enforcement of all rights and laws, is governed by the principle of "proportionality" in international law. The Soviet action in shooting down the civilian aircraft is clearly a violation of that basic principle.

40. As yet, the explanation provided by the Soviet Union as a rationale for the tragedy has been inadequate and unsatisfactory. Its action to prevent the immediate mounting of air and sea rescue operations is also to be deplored.

41. The entire incident has precipitated in many parts of the world, including our own, a deep sense of shock and revulsion. The maximum retaliatory option that was adopted by the Soviet Union has shocked many and is in

our view a completely unwarranted action. The utter disregard for the loss of lives and the attitude of indifference underlined by the incident has, quite rightly, evoked a very strong sense of revulsion.

42. The whole incident is appalling and unjustifiable. My delegation therefore supports the call for a full account by the Soviet Union of what happened. This is the very least it owes to the international community.

43. We support totally the call for united international action, be it here or in any other appropriate United Nations forums, with the objective of preventing any further recurrence of such a tragic event. At the same time, my delegation joins the call for a full and comprehensive investigation of the incident.

44. Mr. NATORF (Poland): At the very outset, Sir, I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the post of President and to wish you success in your responsible activities. My delegation knows very well your personal contribution to the Security Council's work, and highly appreciates your diplomatic skill and experience, which are well known in the United Nations system.

45. I should also like, Sir, to extend my congratulations to your predecessor, the representative of France.

46. The Polish delegation has listened with great attention to all the statements relating to the incident involving the South Korean air liner which violated the airspace of the Soviet Union. Two delegations—those of the Soviet Union and the United States—have submitted to the Council two different versions of the events which led to the tragic deaths of 269 people aboard the South Korean airliner. From the very beginning United States officials have maintained that the United States is in possession of exhaustive information regarding the course of the incident and its circumstances. On this basis, the United States directed accusations against the Soviet Union in the Council, declaring that it would submit supposedly irrefutable evidence of Soviet responsibility for the deaths of the innocent passengers.

47. Yesterday, we witnessed the presentation of that alleged evidence on monitor screens. Apart from the fact that no proof has been submitted to the members of the Council that that tape was really connected with the incident under discussion, we have a number of further basic doubts.

48. First, why has the Security Council been shown only a small part of the monitoring, while the American side asserted that it had known the development of the events from the very beginning?

49. Secondly, the main point of the accusation made by the United States delegation was the fact that the Soviet interceptors allegedly knew without any doubts that they were dealing with a civilian aircraft with passengers aboard and that this very type of plane was shot down by the Soviet pilot with full premeditation. But according to the tape, the Soviet pilot did not use any word related to

the flying object indicating that it was a civilian aircraft and also did not use any name or description which could even indirectly indicate that he was aware of the fact that the plane before him was a civilian aircraft with passengers aboard. Thus the tape we have seen here does not confirm the accusation made by the United States but is accidentally in full conformity with the statement made by the Soviet Government, which says, *inter alia*, "the Soviet pilots, in stopping the actions of the intruder plane, could not know that it was a civilian aircraft." [*Ibid.*, para. 3.]

50. We have learned from the Soviet statement that the South Korean jet liner had been repeatedly warned about its presence over the Soviet Union's territory and that all the warnings were ignored. Regrettably, the plane continued its flight inside the territory of the Soviet Union and also flew over important military installations. The United States denies the statement of the Soviet Union.

51. Let us consider which of the presented versions of events is logical, most likely and could therefore be regarded as a true one.

52. Can we assume to be probable the version of events according to which the Soviet Union, which allegedly wanted ruthlessly to shoot down the civilian plane, needed not less than two and a half hours to do so? Anyone who thinks logically and is not biased will have no doubts that during those critical two and a half hours there were repeated efforts to establish contact with the plane that violated the Soviet Union's airspace with the precise aim of preventing the serious incident. This, the only logical explanation of the facts, has been confirmed in the statement delivered to the Council by the Soviet Union.

53. Yesterday Mr. Troyanovsky rightly questioned the possibility of damage to all the navigational equipment in the South Korean air liner that allegedly prevented it from making contact with the Soviet interceptor. I should like to point here to another serious doubt concerning the inability to establish such contact.

54. The United States Secretary of State, Mr. Shultz, said at a press conference that Soviet planes had had to know what kind of aircraft they were dealing with, as they had established visual contact with it. But could that have been only one-way visual contact? Is it indeed to be doubted that the South Korean pilots did not see the Soviet planes that were over an extensive period of time giving them warning signals of various kinds? And if they saw the Soviet planes, why did they not follow the generally accepted rules that apply to such cases? They seemingly had some serious reasons to do so, evidently more important for them than care for the safety of the passengers on board the South Korean aircraft.

55. The American version of the incident gives rise to more such questions and doubts. We can see but one explanation for them, the one contained in the statement by the Government of the USSR: United States intelligence services had used the Korean aircraft, with pas-

sengers on board, evidently for intelligence purposes. It is worth quoting here an opinion of Major-General Keegan, retired former Chief of Air Force Intelligence, who said in *The New York Times* 2 September:

"I have never failed to be surprised at how careless the Koreans are, despite the risks of flying near Soviet airspace. Despite all that the Soviets have there, the Koreans continue to fly too close. The Koreans continue to bruise the Soviets on this. What happened today they invited. They should have flown much farther away, over Japanese airspace."

56. Of course, the South Korean Observer, who has been asking so many questions recently, could give us an answer to at least one question: was it just a case of a lack of caution, or rather a conscious participation of South Korea in carrying out certain schemes by the protecting super-Power?

57. It is also interesting to note that the United States is only gradually revealing some additional information which it had possessed from the very beginning—for example, about the parallel flight of an American RC-135 spy plane and its participation in the incident. The United States did this only after the USSR exposed the presence of special United States planes in the area of the incident.

58. Striking and appalling is the arrogance of the Americans and of the representatives of some other countries who groundlessly accuse the Soviet Union of distorting the truth about the incident at a time when no one can question the information submitted by the USSR. While listening to those allegations, I recalled another case in some way similar to the one we are considering today and which happened more than 20 years ago. But it was United States presidential authority involved in the denial of the fact of intelligence reconnaissance flights over USSR territory. We all remember the compromising of American policy after revelation of all the facts connected with the downing of the U-2 spy plane and its pilot, Powers, over the territory of the Soviet Union.

59. Do we not face today a similar situation in some respects, except that it is far more tragic in its consequences?

60. Some of the speakers indulged too freely in much invective and many epithets in their statements. We have heard a lot about barbarity and tyranny not belonging to civilized societies, the ruthless breaking of customs and rules of international law, and so on and so forth. On the other hand, from the very beginning of the discussion of the incident, the American Administration has supposedly been aiming at punishing the would-be perpetrators of the human tragedy. Is it in keeping with the best traditions of the so-called free, democratic and civilized world first to pronounce sentence and then quickly proceed to its execution, even long before the case has been properly judged and before all credible information about the development of events has been gathered and duly presented?

61. The Polish delegation expresses its deep regret over the death of the innocent passengers who were aboard the

South Korean air liner. We think that all those who sincerely regret this tragic incident should do their utmost to create conditions that would prevent the repetition of such incidents in the future and, first of all, refrain from using this sad case for the further deterioration of the international atmosphere and avoid creating even more serious consequences.

62. We are deeply concerned that a number of delegations that have spoken in this debate, probably under the influence of the emotions caused by the human tragedy as well as under the pressure of the American propaganda machinery, have acted on the principle "First pronounce judgement: then establish the facts and circumstances of the event". In some statements justifiable concern over the influence of this incident on the already grave state of international relations was visible. Is it so difficult to realize and to foresee that the only possible result of the consideration of this issue by the Council in the hysterical atmosphere that has been created will be a further deterioration of the international situation? Do the contents and tone of the statements of the United States representatives and their closest friends create any doubts in this regard? There are three basic elements in the foreign policy of the United States under its present Administration that are being implemented with great persistence: first, there is the ruthless anti-communist crusade; secondly, there is the increasing of international tensions and the hampering of international co-operation; thirdly and finally, there is the inventing of all kinds of justifications for the escalation of the American military build-up. It is appalling that even the human tragedy of the incident we are discussing was fully premeditated by the United States, which is exploiting it to the full for the realization of those purposes.

63. In conclusion, I should like to express the hope that emotions will calm, that sober minds will prevail and that sooner or later, even in the United States, a higher concern for peace and for the avoidance of atomic disaster will prevail over primitive anti-communist and narrow imperialist interests.

64. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Ecuador, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

65. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank you, Sir, and the members of the Council for having given Ecuador the opportunity to participate in this debate. I should like to greet you in your capacity as President of the Council; you are the representative of a young Latin American country and a most respected diplomat with great experience of the responsibilities inherent in various United Nations bodies.

66. We would also like to salute the distinguished performance of the representative of France, Mr. de La Barre de Nanteuil, last month in carrying out his lofty responsibilities as President.

67. Ecuador, a founding member of the world Organization, believes in it and supports it as an instrument for

peace, law and peaceful coexistence. We therefore believe it the duty of all States—whether Members of the United Nations or not—and particularly of the permanent members of the Security Council, who enjoy the privilege of the rule of unanimity, to strive to maintain peace and refrain from the use of force or from engaging in acts of violence that can jeopardize the precarious stability in which mankind is at present living with such anxiety.

68. My country has expressed its categorical condemnation of the unparalleled and totally unjustifiable military action taken by a major Power against a commercial passenger aircraft, for we believe that deed to be an infringement of the basic principles of human coexistence and a violation of the civil aviation conventions to which the Soviet Union is a party.

69. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ecuador, Mr. Luis Valencia Rodríguez, stated in this connection that “no argument whatsoever can serve to justify the attack upon a commercial aircraft engaged exclusively in carrying passengers, even though it may have been flying on the wrong route or have gone off its course”. Ecuador therefore comes to this highest body, which is the depository of the trust of peoples, because States Members have conferred upon it the primary responsibility for the maintenance not only of international peace but of international security as well under the terms of Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations. That safety and security is today threatened by a new attack against peaceful civil air travel carried out against a commercial passenger aircraft of the Republic of Korea and entailing the irreparable loss of 269 innocent persons, to whose kin we wish to express our condolences.

70. A thorough investigation must be conducted by the appropriate United Nations bodies and, in particular, by ICAO in order to determine where the responsibilities lie in this case, to establish and provide full and appropriate compensation and reparations and to help restore international confidence in the basic norms of law and coexistence, which are all the more necessary in our crisis-ridden world. Indeed, it is the duty of all countries to contribute to a reduction rather than a sharpening of tensions and to the promotion of greater international co-operation. This is truly indispensable but it can flourish only in a climate of understanding and of respect for the peaceful coexistence of peoples.

71. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Egypt, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

72. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt): Notwithstanding the sad and tragic incident of which the Council is seized today, my delegation would like to begin by expressing its belief that your well-known clarity of thought and strength of character, Mr. President, will ensure the exemplary conduct of the Council's deliberations on a painful, difficult and sensitive issue which perhaps—and understandably so—has triggered some impassioned and strong language.

73. Our admiration goes also to your predecessor, Mr. Luc de La Barre de Nanteuil of France, who has further distinguished himself by diligent effort and the excellent manner in which he directed the Council's work during the month of August.

74. The safety of international civil aviation concerns us all. More than a decade ago, in February 1973, it was Egypt which, for obvious reasons, at the nineteenth extraordinary session of ICAO, raised the question of the shooting down by Israeli fighters, on 21 February 1973, of a Libyan civil aircraft over Egyptian territory with the loss of Libyan, Egyptian, Sudanese, Syrian, Lebanese, French, German, Polish and American innocent victims [see S/10893].

75. Today, Egypt cannot remain silent in the face of the no less tragic loss of 269 lives of those who perished with the Korean aircraft over Soviet territory and which, according to the latest text of the statement issued by the Soviet Government, has violated the State frontier of the Soviet Union in an area “where a most important base of the strategic nuclear forces of the USSR is located” [2472nd meeting, para. 3]. Other sources have contended that “when the plane was hit, it was very close to the edge of Soviet airspace and virtually over international waters”. We are prompted to take part in the deliberations of the Council both by humanitarian considerations and out of concern for the safety of international civil aviation. We fully understand the deep and sincere feelings that that tragic incident has evoked. We share those feelings, and our condolences go to the bereaved, and our understanding to the countries whose nationals were the innocent victims.

76. In the wake of such tragic events, passengers on international civil aviation flights will naturally feel captives of actual or potential danger emanating from action, overreaction or even counteraction to a subjectively presumed threat. We should all work to dissipate those negative feelings. Equally, the atmosphere of mutual suspicion, distrust and increased tensions cannot be excluded from the underlying causes. It is therefore not unrelated to the issue now before us to express our earnest hope that all peace-loving nations will continue to explore and follow the path leading to the relaxation of international tension. No country can reasonably cast doubt on the value of the well-established procedures that are meant solely to ensure the safety of any civil aircraft which, through human error, may go astray into the airspace of another country. In the midst of this debate we were somewhat reassured by the fact that no delegation questioned the validity of the international procedures, however strongly sovereign rights may have been invoked. In fact, one cannot fail to detect a certain uneasiness that, we should like to believe, stems from the acceptance of the imperative necessity for all to respect meticulously those procedures.

77. The loss of the lives of innocent and defenceless people anywhere and for whatever reason or pretext should always evoke deep revulsion, profound shock and sincere sorrow. Our margin of tolerance of violence

should never be allowed to be reduced to the level of so-called rationalization or to be glossed over by misplaced political considerations under whatever circumstances anywhere.

78. We have listened carefully to successive revelations on this tragic incident; we continue to do so. Egypt will continue to follow very closely the deliberations on this question here at the United Nations, at other international meetings and in other competent international organizations. We sincerely hope that fully revealed facts will pave the way for a safer international civil aviation to pursue its normal and legitimate course.

79. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Costa Rica. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

80. Mr. ZUMBADO JIMÉNEZ (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am pleased, Sir, to congratulate you most cordially on your presidency of the Council. I am convinced that your well-known skills are a guarantee of success in your important task.

81. On behalf of my delegation, I am also happy to congratulate the representative of France on his performance as President of the Council during the past month of August.

82. Costa Rica and most States do not know the exact circumstances surrounding the tragedy of Korean Air Lines flight 007. The Council is faced with an extremely complex situation which involves principles of sovereignty, considerations of security, internationally accepted regulations of civil aviation and aspects of a technical nature—all against the background of the lives lost in a senseless tragedy.

83. Costa Rica is, however, concerned—and this is the reason for our participation in this debate—over the consequences of this grievous blow to international peace and security.

84. We believe that the system of international security rests on good faith and the credibility of the principal protagonists. In this connection, all nations must be concerned over the attempt made on their own credibility by the Soviet Union. Its weight in today's world and ensuing responsibilities demand that its words be endowed with the necessary credence. To deny one's own actions always weakens confidence. Men and nations understand and, to some extent, forgive a mistake. Men and nations are all fearful of those who always claim to be in the right, denying their own actions.

85. We also believe that international security is based on communication and co-operation among nations, irrespective of their ideological choices. The world is surprised at the lack of co-ordination, communication and co-operation surrounding the death of those aboard the Korean aircraft. Civilian and military air navigation controllers from at least three nations tracked that flight for at least two and a half hours; yet the obstacles to co-operation between all these services in providing the secu-

rity and guarantees needed to protect those 269 lives could not be overcome.

86. It is the view of my delegation that the Soviet Union, which seems to be coming closer to recognizing its actions, must pay compensation for the material and human losses caused on the night of 31 August. Moreover, ICAO, in co-operation with all interested parties, must investigate the circumstances of the tragedy. In turn, the Soviet Union must guarantee it access to information and to the appropriate sites in order to strengthen guarantees that similar incidents will never again happen anywhere in the world.

87. In our view, this debate provides an opportunity to strengthen international security and to promote peace and understanding among nations. We believe that this loss of life demands better communication and co-operation in order to prevent a disaster which could have infinitely greater ramifications. We believe that everyone must shoulder his responsibilities under established principles and law. All of us must try to make confrontation give way to understanding. In that connection it is encouraging to note that this misfortune has not raised an obstacle to the continuation of the negotiations between the two greatest nations on Earth. It is only by improving this understanding and enhancing communication and co-operation for international peace and security that we will honour the unjust death of the passengers of the Korean Air Lines plane.

88. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

89. Mr. KURODA (Japan): My delegation is grateful for the opportunity to speak for the third time since the debate on this item began last week. We do so in response to the statement made by the representative of the Soviet Union yesterday, 6 September [2471st meeting], in which he criticized Japan for not taking appropriate measures of alert before the Korean aircraft was shot down.

90. In response to the questions raised by the Soviet representative, I should like to state the position of the Japanese Government.

91. Japanese air traffic control authorities usually rely upon air traffic surveillance radar and communications from the pilot of a civilian aircraft to determine whether that aircraft is flying according to its flight plan. However, Japanese surveillance radar visibility is limited to the airspace over and around Japan and, for an aircraft flying at an altitude of over 20,000 feet, even the Yokotsudake radar station at Hakodate, Hokkaido, which is located closest to NAKKA—that is, 42°23' north, 147°28' east—some 270 kilometres east-south-east of Kushiro, can cover only as far as 42°14' north, 145°13' east, in other words some 150 kilometres south-south-east of Kushiro. It was thus impossible for any Japanese air traffic surveillance radar station to ascertain that the Korean Air Lines jet liner was flying off course.

92. The only way to ascertain the actual location of an aircraft which cannot be seen by air traffic surveillance radar is to rely upon communication from the pilot, and standard practice is to assume that the communication from the pilot is correct. The record of radio transmissions between the pilot of Korean Air Lines flight 007 and the Japanese air traffic control authorities—namely, Tokyo International Air Control at Narita—after that aircraft entered Japanese air control jurisdiction over the broad expanses of the North Pacific, as released by the Civil Aviation Bureau, Ministry of Transport, is as follows: At 1709 Greenwich mean time (GMT), that is, 0209 Japanese standard time (JST):

“KE-007 [call sign]: Korean Air 007. Over NIPPI.

“1707. Level 330 [flight level 33,000 feet]. Estimating NAKKA 1826. 132.0 [132,000 pounds fuel remaining]. Minus 49 [outside temperature -49°C]. 320 Diagonal 45 [north-west winds at 45 knots]. Requesting selcal check.

“RJAA [Tokyo International Air Control]: (Send selcal).

“KE-007: Check. Korean Air 007. Selcal okay.”

At 1815 GMT:

“KE-007: Korean Air 007 requesting 350 [a flight level of 35,000 feet].

“RJAA: Roger. Stand by. Call you back.”

At 1820 GMT:

“RJAA: Korean Air 007 clearance. Tokyo ATC clears Korean Air 007. Climb and maintain flight level 350.

“KE-007: Roger. Korean Air 007 climb maintain flight level 350. Leaving 330 this time.

“RJAA: Tokyo roger.”

At 1823 GMT:

“KE-007: Tokyo Radio Korean Air 007 level 350.

“RJAA: Korean Air 007 Tokyo roger.”

At 1827 GMT:

“KE-007: KE-007 *Hmmmmmm* [signal becomes noisy and weak].”

93. As may be seen, communication between Korean Air Lines flight 007 and Tokyo International Air Control at Narita was normal until the start of unintelligible transmission from Korean Air Lines flight 007 at 1827 GMT, that is, 0327 Japan standard time. Narita fully expected to receive the pilot's report that he had passed NAKKA some 270 kilometres east-south-east of Kushiro at 0326 Japan standard time, and it was not until 0327 that there was any suspicion that there might be trouble, such as radio failure, with Korean Air Lines flight 007 near NAKKA.

94. For approximately 17 minutes, from 0312 to 0329, the Air Self-Defense Forces radar station at Wakkanai, Hokkaido, sighted and recorded an aircraft flying south-

west over Sakhalin approximately 100 miles north of Wakkanai, but there was no way that the Air Self-Defense Forces could have known at that time that this aircraft was Korean Air Lines flight 007. The Air Self-Defense Forces were not following Korean Air Lines flight 007 by radar all the while flight 007 was in communication with Narita Air Traffic Control, but rather suddenly they picked up that aircraft on their radar at 0312 when it entered the airspace over Sakhalin, and even then it was sighted as an unidentified aircraft.

95. It was only the after-the-fact integration and analysis of radar and the communication records which revealed the possibility that Korean Air Lines flight 007 had strayed from its route and flown into Sakhalin airspace.

96. This data points to the following conclusions:

97. First, it was not until 0327 that Narita Air Traffic Control became aware of any irregularity regarding Korean Air Lines flight 007, so even if Narita had immediately contacted the Air Self-Defense Forces and had been able to deduce that the unidentified aircraft which had flown into the airspace over Sakhalin was indeed Korean Air Lines flight 007, this was already after the said aircraft had been shot down by the Soviet Union at 0326 hours, 21 seconds.

98. Secondly, Japan was in no position to warn Korean Air Lines flight 007, since we had no way of knowing that the aircraft had strayed from its route between the time it left Anchorage and the time it was shot down near Kaiba Island off the coast of Sakhalin.

99. Thus, it can only be concluded that the Soviet charges are completely groundless and that this Soviet attitude represents an attempt to shift to Japan part of the blame which the Soviet Union must rightly bear for this incident.

100. The Government of Japan hereby strongly demands that the Soviet Union promptly retract these charges and respond in good faith to this incident.

101. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Guatemala, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

102. Mr. DELPRÉE CRESPO (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Sir, may I be permitted, first of all, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for the month of September. We are absolutely certain that under your leadership the Council will be able to adopt the appropriate decisions on the difficult matters with which it has to deal.

103. Furthermore, we wish to congratulate the representative of France for the very effective manner in which he presided over the debates of the Council last month.

104. The international community learned with indignation, consternation and astonishment of the news of the criminal downing on 1 September of a defenceless com-

mercial aircraft of Korean Air Lines carrying 240 passengers and 29 crew members on board.

105. The aircraft, as we all know now, was flying over the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, near the Island of Sakhalin.

106. To the families and Governments of the Korean, North American, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Thai, Australian, Swedish, Indian and Canadian nationals who died in this tragedy, the people and Government of Guatemala extend heartfelt condolences.

107. This incident, which took the lives of women and children, victims of outright scorn for human life, must be thoroughly investigated by competent bodies of the United Nations, particularly ICAO. The delegation of Guatemala urges all parties directly involved in this incident to co-operate fully in order to determine precisely what happened so that similar acts may be averted.

108. According to the information at our disposal, this air liner was downed by the Soviet Union. My Government categorically condemns this unfathomable, deliberate and premeditated act of violence.

109. The delegation of Guatemala, like others that have preceded us, hopes that the Soviet Union will offer detailed information on what took place. Furthermore, we believe that it must punish appropriately those who participated in this deliberate, criminal act.

110. Moreover, the delegation of the Soviet Union must offer guarantees that no incidents of this kind will happen again.

111. International law guarantees the safety and security of civil aircraft in all circumstances. The downing of the Korean Air Lines aircraft was not only totally unjustified, but also a premeditated, incongruous and reprehensible act from all standpoints.

112. The international community, and the Security Council in particular, cannot fail to condemn this act, which constitutes an affront to the conscience of mankind.

113. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Ireland. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

114. Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): I wish to thank you, Sir, and through you, the members of the Council for giving my delegation the opportunity of addressing the Council on the important question now before it. I should like also to offer you my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency and wish you every success in your onerous task.

115. The Irish delegation has asked to participate in this debate because it considers that the shooting down of a Korean Air Lines civil aircraft raises issues that have implications for all nations involved in international civil aviation and for the conduct of international relations generally.

116. I should like, first, to express our sympathy to the Governments whose citizens were killed and to the families which have suffered bereavement. We are shocked, as the world has been shocked, by the dimensions of this tragedy.

117. On 2 September the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland issued a statement expressing deep regret at the tragic loss of life. He also indicated his grave concern, in view of the circumstances pointing to the likelihood that the loss of life was not an accident but rather the result of deliberate destruction. It is now clear, in fact, that the aircraft was deliberately destroyed.

118. The Irish delegation has carefully followed the deliberations of the Council with particular reference to the information and explanations that have so far been provided. Although we have listened closely to the successive statements and explanations made by the representatives of the Soviet Union, we feel that we are still without a satisfactory explanation.

119. We cannot accept that the shooting down of that unarmed civil aircraft which diverged from its designated flight path was a tolerable action. Where security interests are concerned, in situations involving unarmed civil aircraft, our view is that the burden of exercising restraint rests squarely on the State whose military aircraft are engaged in interception. It is a matter of concern, too, that the delay in making information available may have hindered search-and-rescue efforts.

120. International civil aviation is of benefit to all the nations of the world. All nations thus have a shared interest in ensuring that civil flights can be conducted in safety. There is an immediate need for fuller and more candid information about the circumstances in which the aircraft was destroyed. This is necessary in order to enable the international community to take steps to ensure against any repetition.

121. The event has broader implications for international relations and efforts to promote international security and reduce tension. Trust and confidence are essential elements in international co-operation. Neither can be developed or sustained unless States are willing and seen to be willing to engender confidence and foster trust, not only by their actions but also by the clarity and adequacy of the explanations offered for their actions.

122. In this regard, the action of the Soviet Union and the attitude which the Soviet Government has adopted in attempting to justify that action have serious implications. The view of the Irish Government on this point was made clear by the Minister for Foreign Affairs in another forum today. He said that the Soviet Union would promote confidence and a sense of security by giving an adequate account of its actions in regard to the Korean air liner and by indicating its intentions with regard to an investigation of the incident and to the making of recompense to those who have suffered directly as a result of the tragedy.

123. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Dominican Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

124. Mr. KNIPPING VICTORIA (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like, first, to convey to you, Sir, my satisfaction and that of my delegation at seeing you presiding over the Council's debates for the month of September. Your presence at the helm of these debates guarantees that they will be conducted with impartiality, moderation, equanimity and wisdom. We will surely benefit from your great skill and recognized judiciousness. May I also avail myself of this opportunity to thank you and, through you, the members of the Council for giving me an opportunity to take part in the debate on this important issue.

125. In addition, I congratulate your predecessor, the representative of France, on the most competent and elegant manner in which he presided over the Council's debate last month.

126. I shall begin by reiterating our heartfelt sympathy to the families of the victims who died in the wake of the shooting down of the commercial air liner of the Republic of Korea, as well as to the Government of that country.

127. Owing to its grave implications, this incident affects not only the parties directly involved but also the entire international community.

128. There is in the international legal order a body of universally recognized general principles that are part of the common legal heritage of mankind. The observance and recognition of those principles constitute the legal basis and spiritual foundation of peaceful and civilized coexistence among peoples. It is therefore natural for the international community to react with indignation when those principles are violated and trampled underfoot.

129. The right of innocent passage in peacetime through the territory of a State is a generally accepted and universally recognized principle. There is therefore no justification whatsoever for the attack upon an unarmed civilian commercial aircraft carrying out its normal duty of transporting passengers, even though it may happen to be off course or lost.

130. A situation such as the one involving the commercial aircraft of the Republic of Korea not only endangers the safety and security of international civil air transport but seriously undermines the basic foundations of human coexistence.

131. My delegation believes that the international community has not yet received from the Soviet Union clear, detailed information about this grievous incident. The proposal made to the Council by several countries that the Secretary-General conduct an exhaustive investigation of the facts and inform the Council of the outcome is therefore an initiative which we support and find opportune. We also believe that in this task the Secretary-General should have the valuable co-operation of ICAO.

132. Tragedies such as the one that we are considering, which took the lives of 269 people, profoundly moving the conscience of mankind, must never happen again.

133. It has been a constant part of the history of the Dominican people to view peace as the highest of all social values. Peace must be the main goal of the international community in its organized form. In this context, we are extremely concerned that the incident involving the Korean commercial aircraft may cause a deterioration in the efforts being made to achieve détente, disarmament and peace. Such efforts, today more than ever, must be redoubled for the benefit of an international society living in such a turbulent world.

134. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Kenya, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

135. Mr. WABUGE (Kenya): At the outset, Sir, let me welcome and congratulate you as the representative of a notable non-aligned and Commonwealth country on your assumption of the presidency for the month of September. The issue before the Council is really sad and serious. It needs a personality of experience, caution and extreme calmness—qualities that you have so far demonstrated.

136. I should also take this opportunity to pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. de La Barre de Nanteuil, of France.

137. My Government associates itself with those countries whose representatives preceded me in expressing their profound revulsion and indignation over the shooting down of a Korean commercial air liner, causing the deaths of the 269 innocent passengers and crew on board, comprising both old and young, men and women, and even children.

138. Granted that the Korean air liner had violated strategic Soviet airspace, the Soviet authorities should have refrained from shooting it down. Rather, they should have forced it to land and demanded an explanation. Had this been done the whole world would understand the Soviet Union's concern.

139. Given the circumstances under which the Korean civil air liner was shot down, the incident is all the more regrettable since this is not the first time, nor will it be the last, that a civilian air liner has violated alien airspace due to technical or weather conditions. My Government feels that full observance of, and adherence to, the Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation¹ is an absolute prerequisite to avoid the recurrence of such an incident.

140. Kenya strongly believes in the value and sanctity of human lives. Consequently, it deplores and condemns this inhuman act, which deprives so many families over the globe of their loved ones.

141. In the name of humanity, the world is entitled to know all the facts related to this tragic incident. The international community should therefore demand a tho-

thorough, independent investigation of this incident by impartial, competent international organs.

142. My Government expects all parties concerned to co-operate fully with the independent investigating body in its task. This will restore the lost credibility of the international civil aviation order.

143. Finally, my Government conveys its profound sorrow and condolences to all the families of the victims and to the Government of the Republic of Korea.

144. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Bulgaria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

145. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria): Mr. President, allow me to thank the members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to participate in the deliberations. I also avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of September. We are well aware of your high professional qualities and experience and the high standard of representation that you give to your friendly country.

146. I should also like to thank the representative of France, your predecessor in the Chair.

147. The incident involving the South Korean aircraft, which violated and intruded deep into the Soviet Union's airspace, is no doubt a tragic one. The most logical question as to the whole incident is, however, why did it happen? How did it happen that a civilian aircraft on a routine international flight strayed off its course and rudely violated the State frontiers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics? Obviously, there is no likelihood of any malfunction of the sophisticated equipment of a Boeing 747. An article published in *The New York Times* on 3 September simply excluded the possibility of any such malfunction, given the highly sophisticated computerized navigational systems operating aboard that aircraft. Furthermore, as was revealed by United States mass media, this civilian aircraft was equipped with an additional radar system that enables pilots to follow coastlines and other terrain features. Was it then a simple deviation from the routine course, or a pre-set course which was selected to make the aircraft fly into Soviet territory over areas of high strategic importance?

148. Why did the South Korean aircraft refuse to respond to all signals, actions and communications of the Soviet air defence system, including the Soviet interceptor planes which warned it of its intrusion? Why did the authorities in charge of the flight, who knew of the aircraft's intrusion deep into Soviet territory, not try to establish contact with the Soviet authorities or at least alert the plane of its violation? Why was the Council, yesterday [*ibid.*], given the edited version of the conversations of the Soviet pilots, whereas nothing was revealed about the contents of the communications between the South Korean pilots and the ground and air traffic control which monitored the aircraft throughout the flight? And why the unexplained behaviour of the pilots of the South

Korean aircraft who were supposed to know the exact whereabouts of the plane at any given time, as well as their obligations to comply with established procedure in case of a violation of sovereign airspace, in this particular case that of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics?

149. There is obviously only one answer to all these questions, and that answer is quite simple—the South Korean plane was deliberately used for intelligence activities. This is borne out by the presence of a United States spy plane which, at the time the intruder aircraft entered the airspace of the Soviet Union, was in the same area near the Soviet border and at the same altitude. What is most striking is that at the beginning there was official American silence about the presence of a United States plane flying for a certain amount of time parallel to the South Korean airplane and allegedly on a routine mission. One can only guess what the real tasks of that spy plane were, but certainly its presence at that time and place was no mere coincidence. It had a direct bearing on the fate of the South Korean aircraft.

150. The world is now aware of the Soviet Government statement of 6 September [*ibid.*]. There is no doubt whatsoever that the Soviet authorities made every possible effort to prevent such an incident, even without knowing that it involved a civilian aircraft. What is still needed, however, is a clear answer from those who pre-planned this major intelligence operation, using the South Korean plane and directing it into Soviet airspace, thus deliberately exposing innocent people to mortal danger. The hysterical campaign of slander that is being whipped up at present here in the United States is not caused by sincere humanitarian concern. We have no doubt whatever that the purpose of this transparent provocation and the subsequent disinformation is again to step up new anti-Soviet propaganda campaigns. Furthermore, it is no accident that this provocation is being carried out at so tense a moment in present international relations. A conspicuous example in this respect is the haste with which the United States Administration linked the deaths of innocent people to the endorsement of the MX missile programme. In other words, the instigators of this incident are trying to create another justification for their political course based on a position of strength, the aim of which is to aggravate international relations, to step up their military preparations and to intensify confrontation with the Soviet Union. The passengers of the South Korean air liner were sacrificed as a result of this sustained policy of provocation, subversion and confrontation.

151. The Bulgarian delegation expresses its sympathies to the families of the innocent people who lost their lives.

152. It is, however, the concerted view of my delegation that the Council is being dragged into a discussion with obvious propaganda purposes. If anyone is to be held responsible for the incident, it is those who orchestrated this tragedy and decided, even before the plane took off, to sacrifice it for unacceptable political reasons.

153. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the German Democratic Republic. I invite

him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

154. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): May I at the very outset, Sir, congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for the month of September. We are sure that, with your diplomatic skill and experience, you will successfully fulfil this responsible task.

155. At the same time, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic would like to express its thanks to your predecessor, the representative of France, for his activities. Allow me also to express my gratitude to you, Sir, and to the members of the Council for giving me this opportunity to explain my country's position regarding the question under consideration.

156. My delegation has followed the debate on the incident concerning the South Korean air liner very closely. The facts prove definitely that this aircraft's provocative intrusion into USSR airspace—an intrusion having strategic importance—represents a deliberate, pre-planned spying action with far-reaching political and military intentions. In preparing and carrying out this provocation a satanic play was staged cold-bloodedly taking into account the possible sacrifice of innocent people.

157. In recent days, in the United States and several other Western countries, an unparalleled anti-Soviet campaign has been launched, rousing the people with lies, slander and hysteria put forward to discredit the USSR and its social order and to disparage socialism and social progress throughout the world. While doing so the initiators of the campaign withhold the fact that those United States agencies that deliberately sent the aircraft on a spy mission far into the national territory of the Soviet Union are fully responsible for the incident.

158. The gross violation of the Soviet Union's State border and airspace and the inflammatory campaign instigated against the USSR are essential parts of the United States policy of confrontation and super-armament and of its crusade against socialism, social progress and world peace. The hostile acts undertaken by the United States and its closest allies are aimed at poisoning the international atmosphere and at preventing steps and measures to improve international relations.

159. The anti-Soviet campaign launched by Washington takes place at a time when questions vital to mankind are on the agenda and when the solution of one of the most important questions is at stake—namely, the question of whether the arms race will be stopped and the threat of nuclear world war removed, or whether that threat will keep growing. The campaign is being used to justify the United States Administration's all-round arms build-up and its intended deployment of new nuclear medium-range missiles in Europe which would provoke a new threat to peace in Europe and the whole world.

160. This political background is revealed even by the mass media of that country. Thus, for example, in today's

issue of *The Christian Science Monitor* the following statement appears:

"outrage over the Soviets' shooting down of the South Korean air liner may well increase congressional support for defence spending and for Reagan's proposed MX missile programme.

"[The incident] has lifted some of the pressure that was on Reagan from both Congress and West Europeans to make further concessions to the Soviets in the two sets of arms control negotiations now under way in Geneva."

161. Now, while talking here about moral standards and humanity, the United States is once again stirring up the situation in the Middle East and is preparing new crimes to be committed against the people of Palestine and other Arab peoples. This vast, mendacious propaganda campaign is being used as a means of diverting attention from the aggressive United States policy pursued in Central America and the Caribbean and directed particularly against Nicaragua and Cuba. The United States wants to divert attention of the concerned world public from the acts of aggression and crimes committed by the South African racists against the front-line States, especially against Angola and Mozambique.

162. Taking these facts into account it becomes clear why the initiators of this debate here in the Council did not answer the question of how it could happen that the South Korean aircraft, despite being equipped with the most modern computerized navigational facilities, deviated from its course and did not react to radio and other signals and warnings. The spy order obviously included deviation from course and a prohibition against following the orders given by the Soviet air-defence forces. It was no mistake, no technical or human failure, but cold-blooded calculation.

163. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic condemns vigorously this most striking abuse of peaceful civil aviation for military and political purposes and regrets the death of so many innocent people. It is beyond all doubt that the United States is fully responsible for this tragic incident and the resulting consequences.

164. The present meeting of the Council should therefore contribute to making the United States stop its peace-threatening military manoeuvres along the borders of sovereign States and to cease exposing civil aviation to danger by its provocations.

165. It is, furthermore, high time that the States refrained from violating the sovereignty of other countries in clear contradiction of international law and concentrated instead on the prevention of a nuclear war, thus avoiding an unthinkable catastrophe for mankind, and on agreeing upon effective measures towards arms limitation and disarmament.

166. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Observer of the Republic of Korea. I invite him to make his statement.

167. Mr. KIM (Republic of Korea): Mr. President, thank you for allowing me to intervene once again at this point. The representatives of Poland, Bulgaria and East Germany made statements this afternoon during the course of discussions of the Security Council: statements in which they tried to defend the shooting down of the Korean Air Lines plane by Soviet military authorities. Their statements shed no new light on this tragic incident, no new information and no moral insight. They faithfully followed the line taken by the Soviet Union. But what is most distressing is that, while it is well known that these countries always, without single exception, follow the Soviet line on every international political issue, at least on this civil aviation issue—which is not a political issue, which is not an East-West issue, but a question which

involves human lives, a question which is essentially moral and legal in nature—one would have thought that they would do other than dare to defend the crime committed by the Soviet authorities.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.

NOTES

¹ International Civil Aviation Organization, *Rules of the Air*, Annex 2 to the Convention on International Civil Aviation (Eighth edition, July 1986).

² *Ibid.*, Supplement A, chap. 2.

³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 15, No. 102.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 974, No. 14118.

UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL

OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR

2474th

MEETING: 8 SEPTEMBER 1983

NEW YORK

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2474th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 8 September 1983, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Noel G. SINCLAIR (Guyana).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2474)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15947);

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Observer for the Republic of Korea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15948);

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15949);

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15950);

Letter dated 2 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15951)

The meeting was called to order at 4.55 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15947);

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Observer for the Republic of Korea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15948);

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15949);

Letter dated 1 September 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15950);

Letter dated 2 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15951)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item [2470th to 2473rd meetings], I invite the representative of Canada and the Observer for the Republic of Korea to take places at the Council table. I invite the representatives of Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bulgaria, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Fiji, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Guatemala, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Liberia, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, New Zealand, Nigeria, the Philippines, Portugal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain and Sweden to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Pelletier (Canada) and Mr. Kim (Republic of Korea) took places at the Council table; Mr. Joseph (Australia), Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh), Miss Dever (Belgium), Mr. Garvalov (Bulgaria), Mr. Albán Holguín (Colombia), Mr. Zumbado Jiménez (Costa Rica), Mr. Knipping Victoria (Dominican Republic), Mr. Alborno (Ecuador), Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Radrod (Fiji), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Jelonek (Federal Republic of Germany), Mr. Delprée Crespo (Guatemala), Mr. McDonagh (Ireland), Mr. La Rocca (Italy), Mr. Kuroda (Japan), Mr. Wabuge (Kenya), Mrs. Jones (Liberia), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Syed Ariff (Malaysia), Mr. Harland (New Zealand), Mr. Fafowora (Nigeria), Mr. Moreno Salcedo (Philippines), Mr. Medina (Portugal), Mr. Koroma (Sierra Leone), Mr. Koh (Singapore), Mr. de Piniés (Spain) and Mr. Amneus (Sweden) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Chad, Paraguay, and Thailand, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Barma (Chad), Mr. Cabello Sarubbi (Paraguay) and Mr. Kasemsri (Thailand) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/15958, containing a letter dated 6 September from the representative of Tunisia to the President of the Council; S/15959, containing a letter dated 7 September from the representative of Malawi to the President of the Council; S/15961, containing a letter dated 7 September from the representative of Japan to the President of the Council.

4. The first speaker is the representative of Chad. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. BARMA (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me, first of all, despite the gravity of the circumstances, to congratulate you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency for the month of September. We are aware that the task which faces you in these shocking times is, indeed, an onerous one, but we are quite certain that with your eminent qualities as an experienced diplomat you will successfully conduct the work of the Council.

6. I should also like to express the gratitude of the people of Chad and its Government to your predecessor, Mr. Luc de La Barre de Nanteuil, representative of France, who spared neither time nor effort during the month of August to conduct the affairs of the Council.

7. Finally, my delegation is grateful to all the members of the Council for having allowed it to take part in this distressing debate.

8. The Council is dealing with a hateful act, one which, quite rightly, has raised an outcry of anger, indignation and horror throughout the world. I am referring to the murder of 269 innocent people which was carried out by the military apparatus of the Soviet Union on 1 September.

9. The reaction of Chad to this act of total irresponsibility was immediate. It took the form of a telegram which the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, Mr. Idriss Miskine, addressed to his Korean counterpart, Mr. Lee Bum-Suk, which said, in essence:

"Profoundly distressed by the ignoble act which has just been committed by the Soviet Union against a Korean civil aircraft in times of peace, an act which has caused the loss of lives of innocent men and women, the Government and people of Chad express their heartfelt condolences to the Government and people of the friendly Republic of Korea. At this time of distress, the Government of Chad associates itself with the Korean Government and the international community in vigorously condemning this shameful and unprecedented act which has been committed by the Soviet Union."

10. My delegation would also like to take this opportunity to reiterate to the families of the innocent victims, as well as their respective countries, its heartfelt condolences.

11. This violence should not surprise anyone, when we bear in mind that the MiG, the Tupolev, the Sukhoi and other Soviet bombers and fighters, have been active in recent years in Asian, African and Central American skies, sowing death and destruction in those regions.

12. In Chad, for example, since last Friday, two days after the destruction of the Korean plane, these aircraft are pouring tons of bombs on Oum Chalouba, in the east of the country, causing a tremendous loss of human life among the civilian population.

13. This tragedy is not a matter of chance: it is part of a premeditated plan which is designed to refashion the world by force in the image of the Soviet Union.

14. What is shocking in this affair is the untruthful and flippant way in which the Soviet authorities, at least in the days immediately following the act, dealt with this crime. They could have gone on deceiving the international community had it not been for the vigilance of the specialized services of Japan and the United States, which forced them to make their admission in the face of the publication of irrefutable proof of the destruction of the civilian plane which, for unknown reasons, had to leave the air corridor which was reserved to it.

15. Today, the world is aware that the Korean Boeing 747 was definitely shot down by the Soviet fighter plane, code name "805", contrary to the account given by the Soviet delegation on 2 September [2470th meeting], to the effect that the plane had disappeared over the Sea of Japan.

16. Fortunately, on 6 September, that delegation finally acknowledged the facts [2471st meeting]. The world is aware that the pilot who pressed the death button had an excellent view of the civilian craft, since it flew around it and referred to its flashing lights, as well as to the fact that it had reduced its speed, a sign that it was obeying. Consequently, the argument to the effect that the pilots who shot down the Korean plane could not have been aware at the time that this was a civilian plane, does not hold water.

17. The international community expects a firm reaction from the Council in the light of this challenge to the law and to human life. Airlines pilots' associations from the United Kingdom, France, Norway, Sweden and Denmark, have all set an example by calling for a boycott on flights to the Soviet Union. The Council, whose prime task is to maintain international peace and security, should condemn this action and induce the Soviet Government to acknowledge its responsibility in this affair. If the Soviet Government, nevertheless, persists in denying what actually happened, the least that can be required is that an international inquiry be held under the aegis of the Secretary-General.

18. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union, as we see it, should agree to honour the five-point demand which was presented by the delegation of the Republic of Korea [2470th meeting]. It is only thus that the safety of international civil aviation, upon which the life of each of us may depend, can be safeguarded.

19. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Paraguay. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

20. Mr. CABELLO SARUBBI (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation is pleased, albeit in these inauspicious circumstances, to see a representative of our region presiding over the Council. Indeed, Mr. President, your recognized skill and sound judgement guarantee that the discussion of this item will be conducted with the speed and effectiveness that its gravity requires.

21. In compliance with instructions received from our national Government, my delegation has asked to be allowed to speak in the Council to join the voices of protest and the demands for justice in the face of the violent deaths of innocent passengers on board a civil aircraft of Korean Air Lines which was attacked by a Soviet fighter plane.

22. I should like to express the indignation of all Paraguayans and their repudiation of this incident by reading out to the Council the text of a telegram addressed to the Secretary-General by the President of my country, General Alfredo Stroessner, as follows:

"The people and Government of Paraguay join me in repudiating and condemning most energetically the barbaric crime committed against the peaceful and free Republic of South Korea by the Soviet Air Force. We denounce before the supreme world body of which you are the Secretary-General the new despicable communist aggression against humankind. I ask you, Mr. Secretary-General, to make public our denunciation and condemnation of the cowardly act of murder of almost 300 innocent passengers who were travelling on board a Boeing 747 of the South Korean commercial airline Korean Air Lines deliberately shot down by Russian warplanes.

23. My delegation is of the view that the Soviet Union must give the international community a proper explanation of its conduct, as well as pay full compensation for the damage caused to the aforementioned airline company and, in particular, to the families of the victims, whose feelings of sorrow we fully share.

24. The fact that the Soviet Air Force decided deliberately to shoot down a defenceless commercial air liner—even though it may have been overflying Soviet airspace—constitutes an affront to the most sacred principles of international coexistence and respect for human life and puts in jeopardy current principles of conventional law that exist specifically to govern the conduct of States in cases of unauthorized overflight.

25. Furthermore, the facts seem to confirm a highly disquieting policy of that super-Power, since back in 1978 another air liner of the same company was attacked over Soviet territory in similar circumstances—fortunately with the loss of fewer lives. We might ask what instructions govern the conduct of those who are responsible for Soviet defence systems in cases of emergency. Is it possible that they have such poor judgement and such great disdain for the lives of others? If so, the very security of mankind could be in jeopardy, in view of the enormous nuclear arsenal that that country possesses which could be utilized in the same irresponsible manner, resulting in incalculable damage.

26. We should like to conclude by appealing to the wisdom of the Council and to common sense, especially that of its permanent members, which bear primary responsibility for security in the world, so that the sacrifice of so many innocent lives might not be in vain but, rather, that a new lesson may be learnt and new measures taken to enhance trust among peoples and ensure progress in the application and improvement of the norms that govern the security of international air traffic.

27. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Thailand. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

28. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): First of all, I should like to convey to you, Sir, my delegation's sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for the month of September. It is indeed fortunate that at this critical time the Council can avail itself of your undoubted experience and diplomatic skills to guide it in its deliberations.

29. I should also like to convey my delegation's sincere appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Luc de La Barre de Nanteuil, representative of France, for the dedicated manner in which he presided over the Council's proceedings during the month of August.

30. My delegation is indeed grateful to you, Mr. President, and to the other members of the Council for the opportunity to participate in the debate on this important item.

31. As representatives are aware, the tragic destruction of Korean Air Lines flight No. 007 on 1 September involved the death of 269 passengers, including eight nationals of my country, Thailand. Earlier information had indicated that six Thai passengers met their death on that fateful flight. According to the latest information, there were in fact eight persons of Thai nationality on board: one family—the father, mother and child; a young woman and an infant; two other women and a boy. In this connection, my delegation has noted with appreciation the expressions of sympathy and condolence made by various representatives in the Council and will duly convey them to my Government and the bereaved families.

32. The Government and people of Thailand first learned of the incident with shock and disbelief. As the

circumstances of the destruction of the passenger aircraft became more clearly known, the popular feelings turned into abhorrence and dismay. Questions were asked as to why, in peace-time, a passenger aircraft on a regularly scheduled flight could be shot down, without regard for the innocent and hapless people on board. What sort of world are we living in when such wanton destruction can occur in cold blood, as if 269 lives were a mere dot on the radar screen that could be extinguished in a flash? Our hearts cried out for the victims and their bereaved families, who were perhaps as helpless in the face of the imminent danger as all of us are—mere human beings vulnerable to lawless violence and indiscriminate weapons.

33. As further information became available, the Royal Thai Government took the following actions. First, the Prime Minister of Thailand sent a message dated 2 September 1983 to the President of the Republic of Korea, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand issued a statement of the same date concerning the incident [S/15954, annex]. When additional information reached my Government, leaving little doubt as to the nature and extent of the responsibility, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand handed the Soviet Embassy in Bangkok a note expressing profound shock over the shooting down of a commercial Korean air liner and strongly condemning the use of force against the unarmed civilian aircraft, resulting in the loss of 269 lives, including the lives of eight Thai nationals. The Government of Thailand demands that the Soviet Union give immediate and detailed clarification of the incident, and that the families of the victims be given adequate and just compensation. The representation was made on 5 September, and up until now no response or clarification has been given by the Soviet Government to my Government.

34. My delegation therefore joins in the demand of other delegations before the Council in seeking a prompt and impartial investigation, which would receive the co-operation of all States and parties concerned, into the details of the circumstances surrounding the tragic incident.

35. Furthermore, in conveying its sincere condolences to the families of the victims, my delegation joins in the demand made by other Governments concerned that full and just compensation be provided them by the Soviet Government. Available information indicates beyond any reasonable doubt that, whatever was the intent and purpose of the action by the Soviet interceptor's pilot, it was an act performed in the course of official duty, which imputes responsibility to the State, in accordance with international law.

36. Most recent events have confirmed that—and I quote the statement made in Madrid yesterday by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union—"an air defence interceptor carried out the order of the command post to stop the flight". While the Soviet authorities have justified their action by reason of sovereignty and inviolability of the borders, the question remains whether their action does not violate international law, particularly the rules on international civil aviation, and the norms of

civilized practice of States. The frightening thought is that, if the Soviet authorities are so concerned about an intrusion by a civil aircraft, what disastrous consequence would arise from continuation of the alleged overflights by military aircraft? Is the destruction of Korean Air Lines flight 007 intended to be a warning to civil airlines of less powerful nations? Was the Soviet action cloaked with super-Power arrogance and disdain for the weak and the helpless? Are we to infer from the Soviet action that overflights by civil aircraft are of greater concern to the Soviet Union than alleged overflights by military aircraft, or that the situation has become so desperate as to justify over-reaction, with all the possible ramifications? The issue we are dealing with would then transcend our concern for human rights and touch on the survival of the human race.

37. Jet travel has been a boon to modern man. The jet age has marked a step forward in man's quest for better knowledge and international understanding. The growth of international civil aviation, together with safety regulations and practices, has made an important contribution to the economic development of countries around the globe, and has thus far reduced distances between countries and peoples. The world therefore has a common stake in ensuring the safety of civilian aircraft and passengers, as well as in taking appropriate measures to prevent a similar tragedy. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that the present Council debate will lead to sober reflection and concrete action to achieve mutually beneficial goals.

38. The PRESIDENT: I shall now suspend the meeting for 20 minutes. When we resume the representative of the Netherlands will introduce a draft resolution [S/15966].

The meeting was suspended at 5.30 p.m. and resumed at 5.50 p.m.

39. Mr. MEESMAN (Netherlands): Last week we learned that a Korean civil air liner was shot down, involving the death of all 269 people on board. On Friday, 2 September, at the request of several delegations the Council met in urgent session to discuss this tragic incident and its possible consequences. Since then an overwhelming majority of participants in the debate have expressed their grief at this disaster and, at the same time, they have voiced their indignation at this wilful destruction of human life.

40. In the course of our debate many countries have expressed a deep concern at the possible consequences this tragedy may entail for the safety of civil aviation. As more and more details concerning the circumstances of the downing of the Korean civil air liner emerged it also became clear that the Council could not and should not remain silent as to the implications of this serious incident. Indeed, it would be remiss in the fulfilment of its duties under the Charter of the United Nations if it did not try now to sow the basis for a common understanding on the kind of conduct in civil aviation matters that would prevent the recurrence of a similar tragedy in the future and that would satisfy our sense of justice.

41. It is for this reason that a number of countries, among them the Netherlands, have submitted the text of a draft resolution [*ibid.*]. I do not intend to go into the details of the text which is now before the Council. Allow me only to take the opportunity to indicate one or two of the main points of this draft.

42. The draft resolution we propose tries to give expression to the dismay felt by many in so many quarters of the world that an incident of this gravity and magnitude could have taken place. Despite the fact that the Council has received ample evidence as to what actually led to the destruction of the Korean air liner some delegations have contested the validity of the facts which were brought to our notice. It will therefore come as no surprise that in the operative part of the draft resolution the Council invites the Secretary-General to conduct a full investigation into the circumstances of the tragedy so that an impartial inquiry can be conducted into the circumstances in which the Korean civil aircraft was brought down.

43. I am convinced that I speak on behalf of all countries sponsoring the draft resolution when I say that its principal objective is to contribute to the future safety of civil aviation. In the draft resolution the Council states unambiguously that such use of armed force against international civil aviation is incompatible with the norms governing international behaviour and, at the same time, the Council urges all countries to comply with the aims and objectives of the Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation.¹ We trust that in view of the widespread concern expressed by so many nations in this room this draft resolution will receive the support of the members of the Council. We truly believe that a clear

statement by the Council along these lines will do much to allay the apprehension concerning the future of air safety caused by this incident and felt throughout the world.

44. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the Observer for the Republic of Korea, who has asked to speak.

45. Mr. KIM (Republic of Korea): Since the Government of the Republic of Korea is not one of the States co-sponsoring the draft resolution [*ibid.*] I would like to state on record my Government's strong support for the draft resolution. I also wish to note that my Government has been in close consultations with all the countries concerned in preparing the draft resolution.

46. Since the delegate of the Netherlands so aptly presented our case as reflected in the draft resolution I do not wish to add much to what has already been said. May I, however, make one point clear: the draft resolution which has just been tabled, we believe, provides the Soviet Union with a unique opportunity to commit itself to the principle of non-use of force against international civil aviation. I wish to appeal to all members of the Council for strong support for the draft resolution, which has been carefully designed to prevent the use of armed force against international civil aviation.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

NOTE

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 15, No. 102.

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